



AN INTRODUCTION TO TĀNTRIC BUDDHISM

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To
The Revered and Beloved
Memory of
PROFESSOR BENIMADHAB BARUA



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PREFACE

It naturally gives one pleasure to see one's book reprinted. The response from the readers, including the learned reviewers in many of the esteemed journals, has indeed been very encouraging. The book is being reprinted with necessary revisions.

The present work embodies substantially the thesis submitted by the author, and approved, for the Premchand Roychand Studentship of the University of Calcutta in 1937. Due to the abnormal conditions prevailing in the country during and after the World War II, the author could not arrange to have his work published earlier than 1950. The author brought before the reading public the fruits of his labour in the hope that they might be of use and interest to those who find pleasure in making an academic study of a religious subject.

Whether Vedic or non-Vedic in origin, Tāntricism, both Brahmanical and Buddhistic, represents a special aspect of the religious and cultural life of India. A thorough study of Tāntricism is, therefore, indispensable for a close acquaintance with the special quality of the Indian mind. For a long time it was customary to hold that Tāntricism is an offshoot of Hinduism, or that it constitutes only a particular phase of Hindu Sādhana; but researches in later Buddhism have now brought home that, so far as the extant literature is concerned, the stock of Tāntric literature is richer and more varied in the domain of Buddhism than in that of Hinduism. Much more, it is hoped, may be recovered or reconstructed from the Tibetan and Chinese sources. Thanks to the scholarly endeavour of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, which has published a number of important Buddhist Tāntric texts and made them available to the scholar and the general reader.

Tāntricism, whether Hindu or Buddhistic (and we shall presently see that they are fundamentally the same), has been

the target of all sorts of criticism, charitable and uncharitable, from scholars, both Oriental and Occidental. It has often been styled as a school of religious mysticism, where the word mysticism is taken, more often than not, as a loose synonym for puzzling obscurity. The present author has, however, tried to keep his mind open as far as practicable throughout the whole study. His interest has mainly been academic and cultural. He has studied a considerable number of texts, both published and unpublished, gathered information, analysed and classified them and has then tried to give a correct exposition on textual basis, avoiding personal observations and judgment as far as possible. There are many things in the practices of the Tāntrikas which are undoubtedly unconventional; the author has tried to exhibit them without offering any apology or advocacy. If errors have crept in, in the form of mis-statement or misinterpretation, they are due mainly to the fact that ancient religious literature, embodying complicated practices and subtle realisation, may not be deciphered properly by "our modern spectacled eyes".

The inspiration of the author came from another source. It is known to all students of the Modern Indian Languages that the literature of the early period—particularly in Bengali—comprises a number of songs and Dohās, dealing with the tenets of the Tāntric Buddhists. To understand and appreciate the meaning of these songs and Dohās the Tāntric background must be clearly understood. The present study was an attempt towards that direction. This study brought to the notice of the author many new and interesting facts which led him to pursue his study further and the findings of further researches in this direction have been incorporated in his book, *Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengali Literature* (published in 1949 by the University of Calcutta).

As the number of published texts on Tāntric Buddhism is very scanty, the author had to collect his materials mainly from unpublished manuscripts. As there is no possibility of many of these texts being published in the near future, the



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author has deemed it proper to quote copiously from these manuscripts to illustrate his points and substantiate his generalisations. This, the author hopes, will give the reader a better opportunity for making his own judgment and also for testing the validity of the statements made and conclusions arrived at. Because of the obscure nature of the topics discussed the author had to reintroduce some of them in different contexts, which made an amount of repetition unavoidable.

A few words should be said about the manuscripts, most of which are preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, some in the Central Library, Baroda, some in the library of the Cambridge University, some in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. Except the manuscripts preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, all the other manuscripts were available to the present writer in rotograph through the courtesy of late Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, the great Indian Philosopher, who helped the author not only in procuring the manuscripts, but also with his advice and encouragement. Apart from the fact that the manuscripts, scribed on palm-leaves, or indigenous hand-made paper in Newari (old Nepalese script), the texts are full of corruptions. Further, the texts were not composed in strictly correct and elegant Sanskrit. The metre is often defective; words are sometimes used without proper suffix; wrong forms are used in analogy; *sandhi* is not treated as essential; pseudo-Sanskritic words have crept in due probably to the influence of the Vernaculars. Because of all these the author has not thought it wise to tamper with the reading of the manuscripts in the form of corrections. Corrections have been made or suggested only in cases where the mistake or the corruption has been palpable. As for transcription, the author has experienced some typographical difficulty and a few words had to be left unmarked or without proper marking.

The author acknowledges his indebtedness to his predecessors, who have worked in the field. The nature and extent of such indebtedness have always been indicated in foot-notes. Reference of manuscripts include the folio



number and the serial number in the libraries or institutions where they are preserved. The author thanks Sri Sibendra-nath Kanjilal, B.Sc., Dip. Print. (Manchester), Superintendent of the Calcutta University Press, for the interest he has taken in the printing and publication of the book.

ASUTOSH BUILDING, CALCUTTA.

THE AUTHOR.

ABBREVIATIONS

B. N.	... Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris
C. L. B.	... Central Library, Baroda
G. O. S.	... Gaekwad's Oriental Series
J. R. A. S.	... Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
R. A. S. B.	... Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal

CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARY

(i) *Mission Of The Buddhist Tantras*

The primary concern of the Buddhist Tantras is not to establish a definite system of metaphysical thought. Just as the Hindu Tantras, taking for granted the fundamental tenets of the Darśanas, apply them to a practical effort of realisation, so the Buddhist Tantras, on the basis of the Mahāyāna principles, dictate practical methods for the realisation of the supreme goal. Ideals, current in other religious circles, are also incorporated. These Tantras are primarily concerned with the *Sādhana* or the religious endeavour, but not with any system of abstract philosophy. The philosophical portions introduced here and there cannot successfully explain the various practices and rituals, and they are not always relevant to the topics with which the Tantras are generally concerned. The main object of the Tantra literature is to indicate and explain the practical method for realising the truth, and so, the abstract metaphysical speculations could never find any prominence in it. The different metaphysical systems deal with the nature of the reality and the philosophic method for its realisation; whereas the Tantras lay stress on the esoteric methods for realising that reality. In short, the Tantra, whether Hindu or Buddhist, has to be regarded as an independent religious literature, which utilised relevant philosophical doctrines, but the origin of which may not be traced to any system or systems of philosophy; it consists essentially of religious methods and practices which are current in India from a very old time. The subject-matter of the Tantras may include esoteric yoga, hymns, rites, rituals, doctrines and even law, medicine, magic and so forth.

Etymologically the word *Tantra* may be taken to mean and kind of elaboration (if derived from the root *tan*, to spread), or to mean knowledge (if derived from the root *tantri*).¹ Taking the first derivation, *Tantra* may be explained as that which spreads knowledge (*tanyate, vistāryate jñānam anena iti tantram*). There is thus a wider connotation of the word *Tantra* to mean any 'expanded' literature which deals elaborately with any department of study either in a theoretical or in a practical manner. Thus some systems of philosophy have often been referred to as *Tantras*, e.g., *Nyāya-tanreṣu, Sāṃkhya-tanreṣu, or Cikitsā-tanreṣu*, and so on. But it has also a limited connotation inasmuch as the word *Tantra* means an esoteric literature of a religious and practical nature. It is difficult to say how the use of the word *Tantra* in this limited sense became so important that in common parlance the word seems to have acquired almost entirely this specialised sense. The treatment herein followed is limited to this specialised *Tantra* literature as a practical esoteric science.

Because of this practical nature of the *Tantras*, they have seldom been the subject for pure academic discussion. They have always been transmitted from the preceptor to the disciple in the most secret manner and it has always been held an unpardonable crime on the part of a *Sādhaka* to let the uninitiated into the secret of their *Sādhana*.

Tāntricism in Buddhism includes a mass of heterogenous elements, the chanting and muttering of Mantras, describing various mystic diagrams, making of postures and gestures, worshipping various types of gods and goddesses including a host of demigods and other such beings, meditations and salutations of various types, and last, but not the least, yogic practices, sometimes involving sex-relation. A critical study of the nature of *Tāntric Buddhism* leads one to believe that there is no integral relation between this sort of *Tāntricism* and Buddhism proper. Some of the elements, such as the Mantra element, the element of occultism, the practice of

¹ See an article, *General Introduction to Tantra Philosophy*, by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta in his *Philosophical Essays* (Calcutta University).

various types of worship and meditation, might have been ramifications from older prototypes; but taking into account the element of yoga of a particular type, it does not seem to be a fact that Buddhism, in the course of evolution in any of its aspects, developed within its arena the composite practices known as Tāntricism; on the other hand, Buddhism, in the later phases of Mahāyāna, seems to have *adopted* most of these practices, which were a growth of the soil and as such a common heritage both of the Hindus and the Buddhists. Buddhism did not evolve all of them out of its own materials. We have said that as a religious science Tāntricism has its independent history; its association with Buddhism may historically be explained with reference to the spirit of catholicity which characterises Mahāyāna Buddhism as a whole. It will be more correct to say that the Tāntric theological speculations that are found in the Buddhist Tantras represent the gradual transformation of later Mahāyānic ideas, effected through the association of the various Tāntric practices, than to say that the practices are there because of the theological speculations.

There seems to be no essential difference between Tāntricism within the province of Hinduism and that within the province of Buddhism. Apart from the multifarious accessories, to judge by the essentials, Tāntricism, both Hindu and Buddhist, lays stress upon a fundamental postulate that truth resides within the body of a man; or, in other words, human body is the best medium through which truth is to be realised. This exclusive stress on the importance of the human body as the abode of the truth and at the same time the best medium for the realisation of the truth may be recognised as the *differentia* which makes Tāntric *Sāadhanā* distinct from all other types of *Sāadhanā*. Both the Hindu and the Buddhist Tantras have another fundamental feature common to them—a theological principle of duality in non-duality. Both the schools hold that the ultimate non-dual reality possesses two aspects in its fundamental nature,—the negative (*nivṛtti*) and the positive (*pravṛtti*), the static and the dynamic,—and these two aspects of the reality are

represented in Hinduism by *Śiva* and *Śakti* and in Buddhism by *Prajñā* and *Upāya* (or *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*). It has again been held in the Hindu Tantras that the metaphysical principles of *Śiva-Śakti* are manifested in this material world in the form of the male and the female; Tāntric Buddhism also holds that the principles of *Prajñā* and *Upāya* are objectified in the female and the male. The ultimate goal of both the schools is the perfect state of union—union between the two aspects of the reality and the realisation of the non-dual nature of the self and the not-self. The principle of Tāntricism being fundamentally the same everywhere, the superficial differences, whatever these may be, supply only different tone and colour. While the tone and colour of the Hindu Tantras are supplied by the philosophical and religious ideas and practices of the Hindus, those of the Buddhist Tantras are supplied by the ideas and practices of the Buddhists.

If we analyse the Buddhist Tantras we shall find three elements in them, *viz.*, (1) the unsystematised metaphysical fragments taken from the different schools of Buddhistic thought, particularly from Mahāyāna Buddhism and also from cognate Hindu thought; (2) a Tāntric theology, which though substantially the same as found in the Hindu Tantras, utilised relevant later Mahāyānic ideas; (3) practices. Apart from the fundamental theological position, we find in the Hindu Tantras the ideas of Vedānta, Yoga, Sāṃkhya, Nyāya-vaiśeṣika, the Purāṇas and even of the medical sciences and the law-books—all scattered here and there; so also in the Buddhist Tantras we find fragments of metaphysical thought, which are all taken from the leading schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism as influenced by Vedāntic monism. Ideas are often put side by side indiscriminately without knowing their import and importance, and as a result we find Śūnyavāda, Vijñānavāda and Vedānta all confusedly jumbled together. The leading tenets of early Buddhism also lie scattered here and there side by side with the Mahāyānic and Brahminic ideas and the other Indian systems like Sāṃkhya and Yoga also have been frequently introduced in a rather distorted form.

(ii) *Salient Features Of Mahāyāna Having Bearing
On The Evolution Of Tāntric Buddhism*

We have said that Tāntric Buddhism was a growth within the province of Mahāyāna (the great vehicle), and as such, in aim and ambition Tāntric Buddhism imbibed the spirit of Mahāyāna in a marked way. As for the final goal the Mahāyānists believed that every man—nay, every being of the world is a potential Buddha; he has within him all the possibilities of becoming a *Samyak-sambuddha*, i.e., the perfectly enlightened one. Consequently the idea of Arhat-hood of the Hīnayānists was replaced by the idea of Bodhisattvahood of the Mahāyānists. The general aim of the Hīnayānists was to attain Arhat-hood and thus through *nirvāṇa* or absolute extinction to be liberated from the cycle of birth and death. But this final extinction through *nirvāṇa* is not the ultimate goal of the Mahāyānists; their aim is to become a Bodhisattva. Herein comes the question of universal compassion (*mahā-karuṇā*) which is one of the cardinal principles of Mahāyāna. The Bodhisattva never accepts *Nirvāṇa* though by meritorious and righteous deeds he becomes entitled to it. He deliberately postpones his own salvation until the whole world of suffering beings be saved. His life is pledged for the salvation of the world, he never cares for own. Even after being entitled to final liberation the Bodhisattva works for the uplift of the whole world and of his own accord he is ready to wait for time eternal until every suffering creature of the world attains perfect knowledge and becomes a Buddha Himself. Ordinary people of little merit would always take refuge in the all-compassionate Bodhisattva. To pray for the compassion of the Bodhisattva was deemed as one of the best ways of being relieved of all suffering.¹ The grand example of Avolokiteśvara Bodhisattva's renunciation of *Nirvāṇa* in favour of

¹ Cf. *samanvāharantu mām buddhāḥ kṛpā-karuṇā-cetasāḥ |
ye ca daśa-dīpī loke tiṣṭhanti dvipado-ttamāḥ ||
yac ca me pātakāṁ karma kṛtāṁ pūrvāṁ sudāruṇam |
tat sarvaṁ deśayisyāmi sthito daśa-balā-grataḥ ||* etc.
—*Sikṣā-samuccayaḥ*. Bengali's Edition, pp. 160-61.

suffering humanity, described in the *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha*, will inspire a feeling of sublime reverence for all time to come.' The whole of Mahāyāna literature breathes this spirit of universal compassion, and all the metaphysical and religious discourses are introduced avowedly with the intention of rendering help to the afflicted in getting rid of their afflictions. In the text *Bodhi-caryā-vatāra* by Śānti-deva we find the Bodhisattva praying for the distressed:—"With clasped hands do I pray to all the perfectly enlightened ones in all the quarters,—light the lamp of religion for all that are fallen in sorrow for attachment. With clasping hands do I beseech all the self-controlled wise, who are bent on attaining the final extinction, to wait for innumerable ages,—let not this world be dark (without them). Let by all the good I have thus attained through these (righteous) performances all the sorrows of all the beings be completely pacified. . . . All my existence—all my happiness—all my good in the three worlds unconditionally do I renounce for the fulfilment of the desire of all beings. My mind is bent on *Nirvāṇa*, and everything has to be renounced for the sake of *Nirvāṇa*, but if I am to sacrifice everything let all be given to all the beings. . . . Let them sport with my body—let them laugh—and amuse; when the body is dedicated to them why should I take any more thought of it? Let them do any work they please to do with this body of mine; my only prayer is,—let not any evil come to them with reference to me. - Let all that will speak ill of me—that will do harm to me, that will laugh at me—be entitled to attain perfect knowledge." ²

¹ "It is said that when Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, after obtaining *Nirvāṇa*, was about to merge himself in the eternal *śūnya* from the summit of the Sumeru mountain he heard an uproar from a very remote quarter and became remorseful. He sat there forthwith in intense meditation, and immediately realised that the uproar was nothing but the wailings of the people at the disappearance of Avalokiteśvara, the all-compassionate Bodhisattva. In their utter helplessness at the prospect of losing the support of Avalokiteśvara, who was their only saviour from their wordly miseries and sufferings, they rent the sky with their bitter wailings. Avalokiteśvara was deeply moved and when he came to know about this he resolved within himself not to accept his well-merited emancipation so long as even a single individual on earth remained unemancipated." *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*—by Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, p. 29.

² Ch. III, Verses 4-6, 10-11, 13-15.

This feature of universal compassion was one of the most important factors that popularised Buddhism very much in the lands far and wide and gave the religion a deep humanitarian tone. It is by this emphasis on compassion of the Bodhisattva and also on devotion to the Bodhisattva that Mahāyāna Buddhism could very easily attract the sympathy and attention of millions of people of different calibre, taste and temperament. We shall see later on that this Mahāyānic spirit exerted a great influence in shaping the general religious attitude of the Tāntric Buddhists. If they could not always imbibe the spirit, nevertheless, they echoed the spirit loudly.

In connection with this question of universal compassion we may mention the general scheme of classifying the Buddhists into the Śrāvakas (*i.e.*, the hearers), the Pratyeka-Buddhas (*i.e.*, the individualistic Buddhas) and the Bodhisattvas (*i.e.*, potential Buddhas). The Śrāvakas are those who attain *Nirvāṇa* by listening to the preachings of the Arhats and try to follow them in their life. They try to understand the four noble truths (*ārya-satya*), get rid of the Kleśas (*rāga*, *dveṣa* and *moha*) and attain *parinirvāṇa* through a right comprehension of them. They have mastery over the ten good actions, possess mental concentration and other powers, but they have not the universal compassion (*mahā-karuṇā*) which might inspire them for the well-being of the suffering world. They are always busy with their own salvation and not of others and so are regarded as lower in the rank. The middle place is assigned to the Pratyeka-Buddhas. They are bent on self-control and generally lead a solitary retired life. They do not require the instructions of any teacher to guide them at every step. They can comprehend the cause and conditions (*hetu-pratyaya*) of things, and through a right comprehension of the nature of causality attain salvation for themselves. They too do not possess *karuṇā*. The Bodhisattvas are those who are bent on attaining Bodhi (enlightenment) and dedicate their lives for the services of others; they exert to have full control over their passions, have the knowledge of all the expedients, have great

resolution. Through their constant practice of the *pāramitās* (the best virtues) and through their upward march along the ten stages (*daśa-bhūmi*) they attain Buddhahood. In them *mahā-karuṇā* has got the fullest scope and so they are the best of men. The Bodhisattvas on their completion of the ten Bhūmis become Buddhas when they can no longer render service to others; it is for this reason that many of them prefer to remain Bodhisattvas without attaining perfection.

In connection with the idea of the Bodhisattva we should have a clear idea of Bodhicitta and its production (*bodhicitto-tpāda*), which play a very important part in the theological speculations of the Tāntric Buddhists as also in their Sādhanā of sexo-yogic practices. Bodhicitta means a *citta* or mind firmly bent on attaining *bodhi* (enlightenment) and becoming a Buddha thereby; and the production of Bodhicitta means the actual taking of the vow of attaining Buddhahood through the attainment of enlightenment. Ordinarily, a man may feel inclined towards Buddhism by listening to the preachings, or reading the scriptures and discussing them or by observing the activities of the advanced ones; but he will not be a Bodhisattva unless he actually produces the Bodhicitta within him. Again it has to be observed that the final aim of producing this Bodhicitta is to serve all beings by way of rendering all possible help to them in attaining liberation. One is to attain enlightenment and become a Buddha only for the sake of others; it has, therefore, been said, "Bodhicitta is perfect enlightenment (attained) for the sake of others (*bodhicittam parārthāya samyak-sambodhikā matā*)."¹ This Bodhicitta is the immutable support of all the virtues and is the pre-requisite for the march towards Buddhahood through the various stages. This Bodhicitta has been variously described and eulogized in the first chapter of the *Bodhi-caryā-vatāra* of Śāntideva and in the last chapter but one of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*.¹ As

¹ "O son of a noble family, the attitude characterised as being bent on enlightenment (bodhicitta) is the seed of all the virtues of the Buddhas; it is like a field, because in it grow all the bright virtues of the world; it is like the earth,

Bodhicitta aims at the welfare of the Beings, there cannot be Bodhicitta without *Karuṇā* (compassion). This, we shall find, led to a new definition of Bodhicitta in the Tāntric Buddhist texts where it is said that Bodhicitta comprises in it two elements, *viz.*, enlightenment of the nature of essencelessness (*śūnyatā*) and universal compassion (*karuṇā*). This definition of Bodhicitta as the perfect commingling of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* had far-reaching effects in the transformation of the Mahāyānic ideas into the Tāntric ideas. After the production of Bodhicitta the adept becomes a Bodhisattva and proceeds on in an upward march through ten different stages which are called the *bodhisattva-bhūmis* (i.e., the stages of the Bodhisattva). The first of these is the stage of *Pramuditā* or the stage of delight or joy. Here the Bodhisattva rises from the cold, self-sufficing and nihilistic conception of *Nirvāṇa* to a higher spiritual contemplation. The second is styled as the *Vimalā* or the stage free from all defilement. The third is the *Prabhākarī* or that which brightens; in this stage the Bodhisattva attains a clear insight—an intellectual light about the nature of the dharmas. The fourth stage is the *Arciṣmatī* or 'full of flames',—these flames are the flames of Bodhi which burn to ashes all the passions and ignorance. At this stage the Bodhisattva practises thirty-seven virtues called *bodhi-pāṅśikas* which mature the *bodhi* to perfection. The next is the *Sudurjayā* stage or the stage which is almost invincible. This is a stage from which no evil passion or temptation can move the Bodhisattva. The sixth stage is called the *Abhimukhī*, where the Bodhisattva is almost face to face with *prajñā* or the highest knowledge. The seventh is the *Dūraṅgamā* which literally means 'going far away'. In this stage the Bodhisattva attains the knowledge of the expedience which will help him in the attainment of salvation.

because all the world takes refuge in it; it is like water, because it washes away all the impurities due to self-centered passions (*klesa*); it is like the wind, because it is present everywhere in the world; it is like the fire, because it burns all the remaining undergrowth wrong views; etc." Translated by Dr. H. V. Guenther. *Stepping Stones*, Vol. I, No. 8.

Though he himself abides here by the principles of void and non-duality and desirelessness, yet his compassion for beings keeps him engaged in the activities for the well-being of all the creatures. The eighth is the stage of *Acalā*, which means 'immovable'. The next is the *Sādhumati* or the 'good will'; when the Bodhisattva reaches such a stage all the sentient beings are benefited by his attainment of the highest perfect knowledge. The tenth or the last is the stage of *Dharma-megha* (literally the 'clouds of dharma'), where the Bodhisattva attains perfect knowledge, great compassion, love and sympathy for all the sentient beings. When this last stage of *Dharma-megha* is reached, the aspirer becomes a perfect Bodhisattva or a Buddha.¹

This idea of the upward march of the Bodhisattva, after he produces the Bodhicitta within, got associated, we shall see, with the sexo-yogic process of the upward march of Bodhicitta after it is produced in the plexus of the navel region through the union of the *Prajñā* and *Upāya*—which were transformations of *Śūnyatā* and *Karuṇā*. Bodhicitta attains its perfection in the form of supreme bliss (*māhā-sukha*) after it reaches the highest plexus situated in the cerebrum region—and this realisation of the supreme bliss makes a Bodhisattva the Buddha himself.

Another thing, we should take a short notice of before we deal with the doctrines and practices of the Tāntric Buddhists, is the docetic conception of the three Kāyas (bodies) of Buddha as expounded in the Mahāyānic texts. The early Buddhists conceived Buddha as a historical personage in the life and activities of Śākyamuni. But after the demise of Buddha his personality soon became enveloped in a mysterious halo; for, naturally enough, his followers would not be satisfied to confine his extraordinary personality to a particular historical existence; so the belief grew as early as Pali Buddhism that the lord had a double existence, the Rūpa-kāya or the grossly physical existence and the Dharma-kāya, the existence in the eternal and all-pervading

¹ For a detailed study of the subject see *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism And Its Relation to Hīnayāna* by Dr. N. Dutt. Ch. IV.

body of law. This tendency of viewing the existence of Buddha in different planes ultimately gave rise to the full-fledged Mahāyānic idea of the three Kāyas. With the Mahāyānists Buddha is no particular historical man,—he is the ultimate principle as the totality of things or as the cosmic unity. But this highest principle has three aspects which are known as the three kāyas of the Buddha. These are,—(i) Dharma-kāya, (ii) Sambhoga-kāya and (iii) Nirmāṇa-kāya. The word Dharma-kāya is often explained as the body of the laws (*dharma*); and it may also be remembered that Buddha is said to have told his disciples that his teachings should be recognised as his own immortal body. But the word *dharma* is generally used in the Mahāyāna texts in the sense of 'entity'; and the Dharma-kāya means the 'thatness' (*tathatā-rūpa*) of all the entities; it is, in other words, the *dharma-dhātu* or the primordial element underlying all that exists. It has been also termed as the Svabhāva-kāya,¹ i.e., the body of the ultimate nature. It is described as devoid of all characters, but possessing eternal and innumerable qualities. It is neither the mind, nor matter—nor something different from them both. The nature of the Dharma-kāya is described in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*² in the following manner:—"The Dharma-kāya, though manifesting itself in the triple world, is free from impurities and desires. It unfolds itself here, there, and everywhere (responding to the call of karma). It is not an individual reality, it is not a false existence, but is universal and pure. It comes from nowhere, it goes to nowhere; it does not assert itself, nor is it subject to annihilation. It is for ever serene and eternal. It is the One, devoid of all determinations. This body of Dharma has no boundary, no quarters, but is embodied in all bodies. Its freedom or spontaneity is incomprehensible. . . . There is no place in

¹ But we shall see later on that Svabhāva-kāya or Sahaja-kāya or Vajra-kāya was another *kāya* innovated by the Vajrayānists and the Sahajiyās as the ultimate stage even after the Dharma-kāya. This stage has also been styled as the Mahāsukha-kāya.

² Quoted in Suzuki's *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 223-24.

the universe where this body does not prevail. The universe becomes, but this body for ever remains. It is free from all opposites and contraries, yet it is working in all things to lead them to Nirvāṇa."

The Sambhoga-kāya is generally explained as the 'body of bliss' of the refulgent body of the Buddha. It is a very subtle body which manifests itself in the various conditions of bliss in the superhuman beings for preaching the noble truths and for arousing in the mind of all the Śrāvakas, Pratyeka-Buddhas and the lay Bodhisattvas joy, delight and love for the noble religion (*sad-dharma*). It has been explained in the *Śata-sāhasrikā* and the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā* as "an exceedingly refulgent body, from every pore of which streamed forth countless brilliant rays of light, illuminating the *lokadhātus* as innumerable as the sands of the Ganges. When this body stretched out its tongue, innumerable rays of light issued forth from it, and on each ray of light was found a lotus of thousand petals on which was seated a Tathāgata-vigraha (an image of the Tathāgata, a sort of Nirmāṇa-kāya), preaching to Bodhisattvas, Gṛhasthas (householders), Pravrajitas (recluses) and others the dharma consisting of the six pāramitās."

The Nirmāṇa-kāya is the historical personage of the Buddha or the 'Body of Transformation'. The historical Buddha is regarded as an incarnation of the eternal Tathāgata or the manifestation in condescension of the Dharma-tathatā. Śākyasiṃha Buddha is only one of the incarnations of the Dharma-kāya Buddha and his life and teachings are explained as the 'apparent doings of a phantom of the Buddha-kāya',—'a shadow image created to follow the ways of the world' only to convince the ignorant people of the world that it is not beyond the capacity of a man to attain perfection.

The Tri-kāya theory of the Mahāyānist developed cosmological and ontological significance in course of its evolution. Before it developed these cosmological and

¹ See, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism And Its Relation to Hīnayāna* by Dr. N. Dutt, p. 118.

ontological meanings, the theory as mere Buddhology would be explained in the following manner¹ :—

The quintessence of Buddha is Pure Enlightenment (*bodhi*) or perfect Wisdom (*prajñā-pāramitā*), or knowledge of the Law (*dharma*), i.e., the absolute truth. By attaining this knowledge *Nirvāṇa* is also attained; the Dharma-kāya Buddha is the Buddha in *nirvāṇa* (*Samādhi-kāya*). Again, before he is merged into *nirvāṇa* he possesses and enjoys, for his own sake and for others' welfare, the fruit of his charitable behaviour as a Bodhisattva, and this is the Body of Enjoyment or the Beatific Body (*Sambhoga-kāya*). Again, human beings known as the Buddhas, who are created by the magical contrivances represent the Created Body (*Nirmāṇa-kāya*).

But after the Tri-kāya theory acquires a cosmological and an ontological meaning, Dharma-kāya means the unqualified permanent reality underlying the things (*dharma*), or, in other words, the uncharacterised pure consciousness (*viññapti-mātratā*) according to the Vijñānavādins. *Sambhoga-kāya* means the Dharma-kāya evolved as Beings, Bliss, Charity, Radiance, or the Intellect, embodied as the Bodhisattva. *Nirmāṇa-kāya* is the Transformation Body, which is the same as consciousness defiled and individualised. Later on, this Buddhology, cosmology and ontology were all confusedly mixed up,—and we find the three Kāyas mentioned more often in their composite sense than either as pure Buddhology or as pure ontology.

The transformation of the idea of Tri-kāya is found in Tāntric Buddhism in two ways. The idea of Dharma-kāya, we shall see, substantially influenced the Tāntric Buddhists in the moulding of their monistic conception of the Godhead. Secondly, the idea of the Kāyas got associated with the various plexuses that were discovered by the Tāntric Sādhakas in the different parts of the human body. These plexuses are said to represent the same principles as the different bodies of the Buddha do.

¹ See an article, *The Three Bodies of a Buddha*, by Prof. La Vallée Poussin in the J.R. A.S., 1906, pp. 945-46.

(iii) *Philosophical Systems Of Mahāyāna Echo Of Which Is Found In The Tantras*

As the metaphysical fragments, found in the different Tāntric literature, are but indistinct echoes of the different schools of Mahāyāna philosophy, we think it proper to take a bird's-eye view of the philosophical systems of Mahāyāna. The Buddhist Tantras are based more on the Yogācāra school than on the Śūnyavāda,—and the monistic tendency of the Yogācāra school has often been consciously and unconsciously drawn to pure Vedāntic thought. It is for this reason that we shall deal with the Yogācāra more elaborately and we shall also try to explain very briefly philosophical affinity of Yogācāra with Vedānta.

Mahāyāna Buddhism has been roughly classed under two heads, *viz.*, Śūnyavāda, and Vijñānavāda or Yogācāra. The distinction between the two schools is not, however, fundamental, and very often the one verges upon the other. Nāgārjuna (100 A.D.) was the chief exponent of Śūnyavāda with its uncompromising spirit of negation. Another earlier current was flowing on with a spirit of compromise with the Upaniṣadic doctrine of monism. We find trace of the latter in as early a Mahāyāna text as the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, we find it somewhat systematised in the Tathatā doctrine of Aśvaghoṣa¹ and it took a definite turn of uncompromising idealism in the hands of the Vijñānavādins like Maitreya, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and others; and we may add here that this trend of thought attained fulfilment in the Vedāntic monism of Śaṅkara. Let us first of all understand the standpoint of the Śūnyavādins and then we shall try to trace the development of the other currents of thought.

(A) MĀDHYAMIKA PHILOSOPHY OF NĀGĀRJUNA

The *Mādhyamika-vṛtti* of Nāgārjuna, commented upon by Candrakīrti, begins with the declaration that the Mādhyā-

¹ It has been hinted before that modern scholars are not sure about the authorship of the work *Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda-sūtra* where we find Tathatā-vāda expounded.

mikas have no thesis to prove, their business is to contradict any and every thesis that may be offered by any school of thought. First of all is taken the principle of 'dependent origination' (*pratītya-samutpāda*) realised and preached by Lord Buddha himself. The phrase *pratītya-samutpāda* has been interpreted in two different ways by former commentators;¹ but after refuting both these views Candrakīrti holds that the real significance of the theory of *pratītya-samutpāda* is no law about the ultimately real nature of things; it is a mere law about the relation of interdependence among the illusory appearances as things; the law is concerned purely with the provisional reality (*samvṛti-satya*). These illusory appearances which constitute the realm of our experiences have their origin in a law of inter-relation of dependence which is responsible for the world-process as a whole. The real import of this law of relativity of the Mādhyamikas is indeed very difficult to understand. Ultimately there is neither origination nor cessation;—no destructibility—no permanence; no coming—no going; no subjectivity—no objectivity; no knowledge—no knowable—everything is free from all the disturbances of birth, decrepitude and death. There is real origination of the thing neither by its own nature, nor by others—nor by a combination of both,—nor by any un-reason;—there is origination nowhere—at no time—and of none.²

¹ It may either be explained as the origination (*samutpāda*) of some existence (*bhāva*) getting hold of or obtaining (*pratītya=pra+√i+tya=getting*) some cause and conditions (*hetu-pratyaya*). Or it may be explained as the origination with reference to each and every destructible individual (*√i=to go, to change, i.e., to be destroyed*). But Candrakīrti dismisses both the interpretations as unsatisfactory. For, if we accept the latter interpretation, we cannot explain consistently all the passages of the scriptures where the phrase *pratītya-samutpāda* occurs. An attempt may be made to solve the difficulty by explaining the word 'getting' (*prāpti*) as *apekṣā* (dependence or relativity), and *pratītya-samutpāda* may simply be taken to imply,—that being there, it happens (*asmin sati idam bhavati*); but here the exact meaning of each of the component parts, viz., *pratītya* and *samutpāda*, remains unexplained.

² *na sva'o nāpi parato na deśabhyāṃ nāpyahetutāḥ |*
utpannā jātu vīdyante bhāvāḥ kecidānā kecana ||

Mādhyamika-śāstrī. La Vallée Poussin's Edition, p. 12.

Things cannot be self-originated; for, self-origination implies the existence of the thing before it originates itself. If a thing exists already by itself, there seems to be no satisfactory reason, why it should produce itself once more. Moreover, if the existent again require self-production, this will involve the fallacy of the vicious infinite.¹ The Sāṃkhya schools, however, may say that by causality and the identity of the cause and the effect they never mean that the effect is a new manifestation in a particular form (*e.g.*, a jar); but by causality is meant only potentiality. It is said in reply that their argument does not stand to reason; for if by causality is meant the mere potentiality then the effect is never produced at all.²

The next consideration is about the possibility of the origination of a thing by, or from, anything else. But this position is assailed at once by the argument that the Mādhyamikas do not admit any difference in things, and so there cannot be any *parabhāva* (otherness) at all. Moreover, the quintessence of a particular thing cannot remain in the extraneous cause and conditions.³ If the quintessence of anything could be found in anything else, we might have expected the possibility of darkness from the nature of light, and in that case anything might have come out of anything else. Neither can it be said that the things are produced by a combination of the self and the not-self; for, the combination of two things cannot possess the quality which they do never possess separately, and whatever absurdity and incongruity have been pointed out against them separately may as well be pointed out against their combination. Neither is it reasonable to hold that things originate

¹ As the Mādhyamikas had no thesis to prove, they would never lay any stress on the importance of formal logic. It has been held by Candrakīrti that all the attempts of Bhāva-viveka (an earlier commentator on Nāgārjuna) to adduce formal reasons in his favour only bespeak his own love of formal logic, but the Mādhyamikas do not require any formal logic at all. Moreover, had there been any reality in the data of our logical concepts, there might have been any question of formal logic at all, but as all realities are absolutely denied there remains no scope and possibility of formal logic.

² *Mādhyamika-ṛtti*, p. 21.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

without any reason,—for, if there be no reason behind origination, the conception of the world without having any sufficient reason will seem just like the colour and scent of a lotus growing in the sky.¹ Thus the final conclusion arrived at is that there is nothing like production or origination; the world process is a mere eternal flux of successional series.

The emphasis of Nāgārjuna is not only on the non-causality of things, but also on the non-substantial nature of things. Nothing has got any nature (*svabhāva*); for, had it any nature, that nature would remain in it even in the absence of the cause and conditions (*hetu-pratyaya*), and that self-sufficient nature would no more require the help of any cause and condition for its production. Neither is it correct to say that the nature of a thing does not exist before its production through the collocation of cause and conditions; for, in that case the nature of a thing would be created by something else; but the nature of a thing no more remains in its own nature when it loses its independence,—for *svabhāva* implies independence.² It may, of course, be argued that if all the *dharma*s are without *svabhāva*, words which are included in the totality of *dharma*s must also be devoid of essence,—and so there cannot even be the proposition that nothing exists, or that everything is void by nature. The Mādhyamikas will reply,—‘Suppose that a fool wrongly perceives a mirage as water, and that you argue against that wrong perception. The fact (*viz.*, your arguing against the existence of water in the mirage) is just the same as that (*viz.*, our arguing against the essence of the *dharma*s).’³ But it may further be objected,—‘If there is neither the perception nor the perceived, and the perceiver also be non-existent, then there is neither the refutation, nor the refuted and the refuter also does not exist.’⁴ The reply is,—‘Suppose that one man created by magic (prevents) another man created by magic or that one *Māyā-puruṣa* (prevents)

¹ *Mādhyamika-vṛtti*, p. 38.

² *Ibid.*, Ch. XV, p. 260.

³ *Vigraha-vyākṛtānī* of Nāgārjuna, translated from the Chinese and Tibetan Texts by Tucci (G.O.S., Vol. XLIX, Verse No. xiii).

⁴ *Ibid.*, Verse No. xv.

another *Māyā-puruṣa* (from doing something). The relation (lit. the meaning) of the refutation and the refuted is just like this.¹

The *Śūnyatā*-doctrine of Nāgārjuna may seem incompatible with the doctrine of *nirvāṇa*. If everything be void and there be neither origination nor destruction, then by the destruction or arrest of what should we attain *nirvāṇa*?² The reply of Nāgārjuna is that *nirvāṇa* is not something which is to be attained through the destruction or the arrest of anything whatsoever; it is but the complete cessation of all mental constructions.³ It has been described as the destruction of nothing,—the attainment of nothing,—it is neither annihilation, nor eternally existent;—it is neither the arrested, nor the produced—this is the definition of *nirvāṇa*.⁴ Nothing is existent,—nothing is non-existent; so the question of annihilation or suppression does not arise at all. It is not the negation of any existence,—it is but the cessation of all notions of existence and non-existence.⁵ All consciousness vanishes in *nirvāṇa* like a lamp extinguished. *Nirvāṇa* is no Ens, neither non-Ens, it is like a knot entwined by the empty space (*ākāśa*) and untied again by that same empty space.⁶

As we have said, the exact position of Nāgārjuna is very difficult to understand; but it seems clear that his emphasis is more on negation, whereas the emphasis of the Vijñānavādins is on the existence of some transcendental absolute reality in the form of the 'thatness' (*tathatā*) of all entities or as pure consciousness. The *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* which is taken by scholars to be one of the early texts of Vijñānavāda says that *anutpāda* (uncreate) and *śūnya* (void) mean essence-

¹ *Vigraha-nyāyartanī*, Verse No. xxiii.

² *Mādhyamika-vṛtti*, Ch. XXV, p. 519.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 522.

⁴ *aprahīnam asamprāptam anucchinnaṃ aśāśvatam |
aniruddham anutpannam etan nirvāṇam ucyate ||*

Ibid., p. 521.

⁵ *bhāvā-bhāva-parāmarśa-kṣayo nirvāṇam ucyate ||*

Retnāvalī, quoted in the *Mādhyamika-vṛtti*, p. 524.

Ibid., p. 540.

⁶ *ākāśena kṛto granthirākāśenaiva moṣitaḥ ||*

lessness of all that appear ; but the reality remains as mere consciousness (*citta-mātra-vyavasthānam*) transcending all duality (*dvaya-bhāva*) of subjectivity and objectivity.¹

(B) THE TATHATĀ-VĀDA OF ĀSVAGHOṢA

The 'Tathatā' doctrine of Āsvaghoṣa (? 80 A.D.) begins with a denial of the world of phenomena in both its subjective and objective aspects, but with an affirmation of an ultimate and absolute reality which is the uncreate, eternal and immutable cosmic principle underlying the diversity of the universe as a whole. Two aspects of this reality may be distinguished,—the aspect of pure 'thatness' or 'suchness' (*bhūta-tathatā*) and the aspect of the cycle of birth and death (*saṃsāra*),² each being inseparably connected with the other.

The 'thatness' (*bhūta-tathatā*) is 'the oneness of the totality of things (*dharma-dhātu*), the great all-including whole, the quintessence of the Doctrine'. In the essence of the 'thatness' there is nothing to be excluded, nothing to be added,—it has neither beginning nor end—it cannot be expressed by words and expressions which are but the representations of the empirical concepts,—its very nature is unspeakable and inexplicable,—it can only be indicated somehow as 'thatness'.

The external world, which appears under the particularised forms of individuation, is nothing but a creation of the mind with its inherited categories (*smṛti*), which are the mere products of ignorance. The production of the objective world through the disturbance of *smṛti*³ in the all-

¹ *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, Ch. III.

² Compare the *Sallakṣaṇa* and the *Sevalakṣaṇa* of the *abhūta-parikalpa* in the *Madhyānta-vibhāga*. *Infra*.

³ What the word *Smṛti* signifies in this context is not exactly known. Suzuki takes it to be the 'confused subjectivity'. (See, *The Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna Buddhism*, p. 56, f.n. No. 1); but Dr. S. N. Dasgupta suggests it to be used in the sense of *Vāsanā* (See, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 180, f.n. No. 1). This word, however, also reminds us of the 'confused ideas' of Spinoza.

conserving mind (*ālaya-vijñāna*) ' may be illustrated by the simile of the water and the waves. Here the water can be said to be identical (in one sense) with the waves. The waves are stirred up by the wind, but the water remains the same. When the wind ceases, the motion of the waves subsides; but the water remains the same. Likewise when the mind of all creatures, which in its own nature is pure and clear, is stirred up by the wind of ignorance (*avidyā*), the waves of mentality (*vijñāna*) make their appearance '.¹ So the external world, with all its variety and complexity, has no real existence and as such the fundamental nature of things is neither namable nor explicable. Things have no signs of distinction, they possess absolute sameness (*samatā*). But how can all beings conform to and have an insight into suchness? The answer is,—'As soon as you understand that when the totality of existence is spoken of, or thought of, there is neither that which speaks, nor that which is spoken of, there is neither that which thinks nor that which is thought of; then you conform to suchness; and when your subjectivity is thus completely obliterated, it is said to have the insight '.²

This 'suchness' of things may be viewed under two aspects, negative and positive. On its negative side (*śūnyatā*) it asserts the complete negation of all the attributes of all things; in its metaphysical origin it has nothing to do with things defiled, which are conditional or relative by nature,—it is free from all signs of distinction existing among phenomenal objects,—it is independent of unreal, particularising consciousness. The suchness is 'neither that which is existence, nor that which is non-existence, nor that which is at once existence and non-existence, nor that which is not at once existence and non-existence; it is neither that which is unity, nor that which is plurality, nor that which is at once unity and plurality, nor that which is not at once unity and plurality '. In a word, as suchness cannot be comprehended by the particularising consciousness

¹ Aśvaghōṣa's *Awakening of Faith*, Suzuki's translation, pp. 67-8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

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of all beings, we call it the negation (*śūnyatā*).¹ The 'tathatā' is *śūnya* (void) for two reasons,—firstly, there is no content in it, it being the oneness of the totality of things; secondly, there is neither any subject to comprehend it; so that its nature involves the denial of both the subject and the object; there is neither that which is negated, nor that which negates—both being absorbed in the nature of the 'tathatā'.

But this 'tathatā' may also be viewed as something positive (*aśūnyatā*) in the sense that it contains infinite merits, that it is self-existent. By the non-void nature of the 'tathatā' should never be meant any sort of affirmation on it,—we can have only a glimpse of the truth by transcending our subjective categories.

The quintessence of all things is one and the same, perfectly calm and tranquil, and shows no sign of becoming; ignorance, however, is in its blindness and delusion oblivious of enlightenment and on that account cannot recognise truthfully all those conditions, differences and activities which characterise the phenomena of the universe. The annihilation of ignorance is, therefore, the only way of liberation from the cycle of birth and death. But it should also be remembered that the mere eradication of ignorance is not sufficient to guarantee liberation, for, so long as there will remain a mind, ignorance may recur at any time; so the total extinction of mind is the safest course for attaining eternal liberation.

(C) VIJNĀNAVĀDA OR YOGĀCĀRA

The conception of the *Abhūta-parikalpa* as found in the *Madhyānta-vibhāga*, said to be originally expounded by Maitreya and commented upon by Vasubandhu and Sthiramati, gives a more positive and precise conception of the ultimate reality. It begins with the aphorism,—'The *Abhūta-parikalpa* exists, no duality exists in it; void exists

¹ *Awakening of Faith*, pp. 59-60.

in it and it also exists in the void.'¹ This aphorism is a challenge to both the extreme Realists (*i.e.*, the Sarvāstivādins) and to the extreme Negativists (*i.e.*, the Mādhyamikas),² and the thesis of the *Abhūta-parikalpa* is something like a middle path between the two extremes. The word *Abhūta-parikalpa* literally, means—that which is devoid of all misconception or false mental construction—*i.e.*, the substratum where there is the mere possibility of all subjectivity and objectivity,—but in which the duality has no reality.³

The aphorism may be interpreted, in the first instance, as a refutation of the extreme sceptic view of the Mādhyamikas. They (*i.e.*, the Mādhyamikas) hold that all the elements are non-essential or unreal (*niḥ-svabhāva*) like the pair of horns of the hare. Against them it is said that all the *dharma*s are not void (*śūnya*) in the sense that nothing exists at all, but in the sense that in the ultimate reality as *Abhūta-parikalpa* there is no duality of subjectivity and objectivity. *Śūnyatā* is the absence of the knower and the knowable (*grāhya-grāhaka-rahitatā*), but it never implies absolute negation (*nāstitva*). So *śūnyatā* exists in the *Abhūta-parikalpa* as the absence of the perceiver and the perceived. But even though this non-dual *śūnyatā* is already there in the *Abhūta-parikalpa*, we are not at once liberated because of the fact that in *śūnyatā*, which is of the nature of perfect purity, also exists the *Abhūta-parikalpa* with the dormant seeds of the subjective-objective world.

¹ *abhūta-parikalpo'sti deyaṃ tatra na vidyate |*
śūnyatā vidyate tatra tasyām api sa vidyate ||

Madhyānta-vibhāga-śikṣā. Lévi's Edition, p. 10.

² An impartial scrutiny into the nature of the *Śūnyatā* of the Mādhyamikas reveals the fact that the *Śūnyatā* of the Mādhyamikas may not be taken in the extreme negative sense in which it has been taken by the Vijñānavādins and the Vedāntins; but as the Vijñānavādins have always taken this *Śūnyatā* of the Mādhyamikas in the extreme negative sense, we shall also admit this interpretation only to understand the exact standpoint of the Vijñānavādins.

³ Compare here the definition of *Abhūta-parikalpa* as found in the *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra* of Asaṅga,—

abhūta-kalpo na bhūto nābhūto' kalpa eva ca |
na kalpo nāpi cākalpaḥ sarvaṃ jñeyaṃ nirucyate ||

Ch. XI, Verse 31 (Lévi's Edition).

The same argument can also be directed against the extreme Realists who believe in the reality of the extra-mental objects (*dravya*). The objects do not exist as extra-mental realities, they are real in the form of the *Abhūta-parikalpa*, which is a pure existence (*bhāva-mātra*). We cannot think of any reality which is outside our mind, and our mentation arises without reference to any object as in the dream; our mind (*viññāna*) projects itself as an image of the objective reality (*arthā-bhāsa*) as the fruition (*vipāka*) of the seeds of the root-instincts (*vāsanā*). But it may be argued that if the objective world is totally denied, there remains nothing as the support of our purity (*viśuddhyā-lambana*) and, therefore, there remains no possibility of liberation. The reply is that *śūnyatā* in the form of the absence of all subjectivity and objectivity remains there as the support of our final purification. But like the purity of the sky this *śūnyatā* also is not easily realisable because of its connection with the *Abhūta-parikalpa* which contains in it the ultimate seeds of the illusory mental and material world (cf. the *kleśā-varaṇa* and the *jñeyā-varaṇa*).

Some are of opinion that both subjectivity and objectivity are absolutely chimerical as the possibility of the son of a barren woman. Others, on the other hand, think that the negation of the *dharma*s implies only the negation of a soul-substance to regulate the internal affairs (*antar-vyāpāra-puruṣa-rahitatā*), but the *dharma*s have their extra-mental reality. To repudiate the denial of the universal absolute on the one hand and to deny the substantiality of the external things on the other, it is said that in the *Abhūta-parikalpa* is contained the *śūnyatā* in the sense of the denial of all duality and the reality of the appearances.¹

¹ From the moral standpoint the aphorism may be said to be introduced only to examine the double nature of the reality as impure, or phenomenal (*samkleśa*) and pure absolute (*vyavadāna*). The impure phenomenal reality is a merely illusory representation of the *Abhūta-parikalpa*,—which may, therefore, be said to be a transcendental illusion. But the *śūnyatā* exists in it as the absolute purifying force counteracting the corrupting forces of impure illusion; but this perfect purity is to be sought from the impure illusory phenomenal reality itself,—there is no existential difference between the purity and the impurity;—and it is therefore said,—‘in her also exists it’. As the principle of perfect purity is

The world of subjectivity and objectivity is being produced by our constructive imagination (*vikalpa*) just like the magically evoked phantom of beasts.¹ The world *Abhūta* implies that the images of things, as they are constructed by our imagination, do not exist in these very forms, and the word *parikalpa* implies that they have not the reality they are supposed to have.² But though this phenomenal world of subjectivity and objectivity is illusory, the *Abhūta-parikalpa* also is not chimerical. As the rope is void (*śūnya*) in the form of the snake, but not as the rope, in the same way things are illusory and non-existent in their subjective and objective nature, but not also in the *Abhūta-parikalpa* nature. The correct description of *śūnyatā* is that the thing, which is devoid of something, exists, but the thing, of which it is devoid, does not exist. The nature of the *śūnyatā* is to be realised as both non-affirmation (*anadhyā-ropa*) as well as non-negation (*anapavāda*). It is non-affirmation in the sense of the denial of the duality and non-denial in the sense of the affirmation of the non-dual (*advaya*).

The objectless consciousness manifests itself as reflected awareness in the form of the object and the subject and that which sticks to them; in absence of this (the awareness) those (*i.e.*, the images) are also non-existent.³ The *Abhūta-parikalpa* in its specific nature (*sva-lakṣaṇa*) is of the nature of awareness. All mentations arise out of the subliminal mind-store, or the all-conserving mind under the influence of co-operating forces which bring their germs to maturity

there, the defiling principle of phenomenalisation is also there; and hence the necessity for moral efforts. *Madhyānta-vibhāga-ṭīkā*, Lévi's Edition, p. 13.

¹ Cf. *māyā-hasty-ākṛti-grāha-bhrānter deṣyam udāhṛtam |*
deṣyam tatra yathā nā'sti deṣyam caivo'palabhyate ||
Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra, Ch. XI, Verse 25.

² "abhūta"-vacanena ca yathā'yaṁ parikalpyate grāhya-grāhakatvena tathā nā'sti'ti pradarśayati |

"parikalpa"-vacanena tu artho yathā parikalpyate tathā'rtho na vidyate iti pradarśayati |

Madhyānta-vibhāga-ṭīkā.

³ *artha-sattvātma-vijñapti-pratibhāsaṁ prajñayate |*
vijñānaṁ nā'sti cā'syā'rthas tad abhāvāt tad apyaset ||

Ibid., p. 16.

and the difference which is produced in the subliminal mind-store in accordance with the influence of moral, immoral or non-moral deeds, is responsible for the manifold phenomenal individual existences in all the spheres of life. Although our consciousness does not contain a real plurality of different objects, it has the capacity of producing manifold ideas. Each is produced from its own germ in accordance with the law of our experiential series.¹

The absolute nature of the *Abhūta-praikalpa*, however, cannot be known through the ordinary mind, for it involves the paradox of proving the fact of insanity to the insane. Its nature can only be intuited by transcending all subjectivity and objectivity—and this transcending the duality is perfect extinction. The law of Karma is strictly observed here; and a future birth always results as the fruition of the activities of the former life which remain recorded in the form of *vāsanā* and *saṃskāra*. But a saint, who has intuited the absolute truth, is not affected thereby and is free from the projecting rebirth. The realisation of the *śūnyatā*-nature of things is the only way to perfect purity, and this reality realised in the *śūnyatā* is synonymous with the 'thatness' (*tathatā*) of things, the totality of things (*bhūta-koṭi*), the uncaused (*animitta*), the highest truth (*paramārthatā*) and the ultimate element of things (*dharma-dhātu*).

The *Abhūta-parikalpa* has often been described in the *Madhyānta-vibhāga-ṭīkā* as pure consciousness, but this nature of the ultimate reality as pure consciousness has not sufficiently been emphasised. This emphasis is to be found in the *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi* of Ācārya Vasubandhu, which begins with the proposition that all the three elements are at bottom pure consciousness—and all the phenomena are as much unreal as the illusion of hair and moons to a person with defective eyes. But how then to explain the spatio-temporal laws, the law of the experiential series, and

¹ *Madhyānta-vibhāga-ṭīkā*, p. 19.

the laws of duties? The reply is that all the laws are formed as in a dream.

The question here may be,—if all forms (*rūpa*) and fields of experiences (*āyatana*) be nothing but pure consciousness, how is it that the Lord himself spoke of them? The reply is that the Lord spoke of them only to teach the lay disciples of low intellectual calibre—but in speaking of them he had an ultimate intention (*abhiprāya*). In reality the *rūpas* and *āyatanas* are nothing but the manifestation of the dormant seeds in consciousness (*vijñapti*). These instructions of the Lord were ultimately intended for making the disciples realise the non-entity of the self (*pudgalanairātmya*) and the non-entity also of the things (*dharmanairātmya*). But by this non-entity is not meant any nihilism; non-entity is spoken only of the nature of things as the perceiver and the perceived (*grāhya-grāhaka*), but not of the nature of things as intuited by the perfectly enlightened ones.

As for our perceptions which are generally taken to be the best evidence for the existence and non-existence of things, it may be said that they are mental constructions as in the dream. In dream there is neither the real object nor the senses to perceive them, yet there is the perception; so also is the case with all our perceptions which we falsely take to be the direct copies of the thing itself. It may, however, be argued that our dream-perceptions presuppose the memory of the real perception; but the reply is that our memory itself, instead of being the representation of the perception of the real object, may as well be a mere modification of consciousness. Again, it may be objected, that if perception of our conscious life be as false as that of our dreams, how is it that we ourselves are not conscious of this illusory nature of our perceptions in the same way as we ourselves are conscious of the falsity of our dream-perception. The reply is that as a man cannot be conscious of the falsity of his dream-experiences unless he awakes from his sleep, so also, people, who are engrossed in the sleep of false imaginations, habits and the mental complexes (*vāsanā*),

cannot realise the illusory nature of their experiences unless they open their eyes in the flash of enlightenment. Our ignorance is the ultimate support of our *vāsanās* and the *vāsanās* in their turn are responsible for the imagination of the subjective and the objective world,—and this subjectivity produces our moral hindrances through the veil of passions and attachment (*kleśā-varaṇa*), and objectivity produces the veil of the knowable (*jñeyā-varaṇa*); by tearing off this veil of passion we attain omniscience and by removing the veil of the knowable we attain liberation. The reality is both the absence of the notion of ego (*pudgalanairātmya*) and of the notion of all things (*dharma-nairātmya*)—it is only pure consciousness (*viññapti-mātratā*).

The transformation of consciousness (*viññāna-pariṇāma*) has three stages, viz., (i) fruition (*vipāka*) of the root-instincts (*vāsanā*), (ii) mentation (*manana*) and (iii) objects of awareness (*viññapti-viṣaya*). Through the fruition of the inherent root-instincts there follow the waves of mentation which are responsible for the appearance of the objective world. The *Ālaya-viññāna*, from which follow all subjectivity and objectivity, is but a transformation of the eternal root-instincts which lie in the consciousness as dormant seeds. The *Ālaya-viññāna* literally means the abode or support (*ālaya*) of all mentation (*viññāna*). It has been explained both as the receptacle where everything is connected as effect, and as the *prima causa* in things.¹ But if besides the world of our active consciousness (*pravṛtti-viññāna*) there be an all-conserving mind (*Ālaya-viññāna*) it must have a form; the reply is that the *Ālaya-viññāna* is of the form of an illimitable support (*aparicchinna-lambanākāra*)—we only see it manifested as the internal categories and the external categories; but the nature of these categories cannot be determined. In the *Ālaya-viññāna* there remain, in the form of the root-instincts (*vāsanā*), the potencies of

¹ *atha vāliyante upanibadhyante' smin sarva-dharmāḥ kārya-bhāvena |
yad vā liyate upanibadhyate kāraṇa-bhāvena sarva-dharmesu ity ālayah |
Viññapti-mātratā-siddhi, com, on the Triṃśikā. Lévi's Edition, p. 78.*

both the ego with the internal categories and the external world of objects; and these potencies project themselves as the fruition of the root-instincts as subjectivity and objectivity in an inherent law of deep harmony. But why should we admit the reality of any such transcendental support of the subjective and objective world when we cannot determine the nature of their potencies in their original abode (*ālaya*)? Because, all schools of thought will agree that even when the subjective and objective world is not (as in the state of deep sleep), the existence of the consciousness cannot be denied. This *Ālaya-vijñāna* is no eternal and unchanging principle—it is like an unceasing flow of water which glides on and on through the evolution of cause and effect.

Thus it is clear that anything and everything that is imagined to be existent, does not exist by itself as any real entity; everything is but the transformation of consciousness,¹ which is the original seed of all, as it possesses the potency of producing them all.² All these imaginations, which are all conditional (*pratyayodbhava*) are relative in nature (*paratantra-svabhāva*); in the absolute state (*pariniṣpatti*) there is neither the subject (*grāhaka*) nor the object (*grāhya*),—it is like the pure sky above. The nature of the *dharma*s may thus be described in three ways; as the product of constructive imagination (*parikalpita*), as relative or conditional (*paratantra*) and as absolute (*pariniṣpanna*).³ Now, *parikalpanā* being the product of imagination cannot constitute the real nature of things; in *paratantra* things have only dependent nature, which cannot be real; but in the absolute nature things are neither ens nor non-ens; this absolute nature can only be somehow indicated as the

Cf. Also: *ālīyante sarvā sāsraṇā dharmās tatra phala-bhāvena tac ca teṣa ketu-bhāvenety ālayaḥ* |

Madhyānta-vibhāga-ṭīkā. Lévi's Edition, p. 32.

¹ *vijñāna-pariṇāmo'yaṁ vikalpo yad vikalpyate |*
tena tan nā'sti tene'daṁ sarvaṁ vijñapti-mātrakaṁ ||

Ibid., Verse 17.

² *tatra sarva-dharmo-tpādana-śakty-anugamāt sarva-bījaṁ.*

Ibid., p. 36.

³ Cf. Also *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra*.

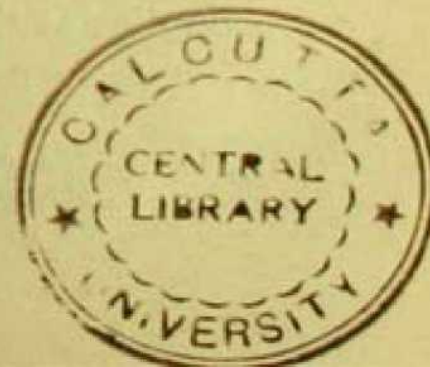
Ch. XI, Verses 38-41.

'thatness' (*tathatā*) of things, and this 'thatness' of things is nothing but pure consciousness. When our psychosis thus gets rid of subjectivity as well as objectivity and remains steady in pure consciousness, the highest knowledge is produced which is supra-mental, uncognisable and transcendental; it is the involution of the *Ālaya-vijñāna* through the eradication of the two veils (of passion and ignorance); that is the immutable element which is beyond the reach of all mentation;—it is all-good, permanent, perfect bliss—of the form of liberation—it is the substance itself.'

(D) AFFINITY WITH VEDĀNTA—AND NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TANTRAS

The metaphysical dialectics of the *Śūnyavādin* and the *Vijñānavādin* Buddhists prepared the ground for the monistic conception of the ultimate reality of the *Vedāntins*. The task of destroying the older doctrines was undertaken and very ably done by the Buddhists, but the work of building up the edifice of a constructive system was left for the *Vedāntins* to undertake. *Nāgārjuna*, as we have seen, frankly confessed that he had no thesis to prove, his only business was to contradict others. The *Vijñānavādins*, however, were not uncompromising negativists, but their positive standpoint is also not very clear and firm; it was left for *Ācārya Śaṅkara* to draw the logical conclusions from the data supplied by the Buddhists. The exact position of *Nāgārjuna* is rather difficult to understand. His opponents, *viz.*, the *Vijñānavādins* and the *Vedāntins* have always criticised his *Śūnyavāda* as pure negativism; but his *śūnyatā* also admits the interpretation of an attributeless reality always escaping the grasp of intellectual comprehension and verbal exposition. The general attitude of Buddha and the Buddhists towards the ontological problem does not seem to

¹ *acitto'nupalambho'sau jñānaṃ loka-ttaraṇa tat |*
āśrayasya parāṇṇāṃ deidhā daṣṭulya-hānitaḥ ||
sa evā'nāsravo dhātur acintyaḥ kuṣalo dhruvaḥ |
sukho vimukti-kāyo'sau dharmākhya'yaṃ mahāmuniḥ ||
Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi, Verses 29-80.



the quiescent, the good, it is the one.¹ The omniscient wise in the final stage knows neither himself nor others,—he knows neither the real—nor the unreal,—he knows nothing at all.² The phenomenal world is like a creation in dream; it never existed in the beginning,—it will never exist at the end,—it cannot exist in the present. All the unreals are seeming to be real. The world of differences, the plurality of the selves—all are as much unreal as the imagination of the rope as a snake in the dark night. In the deepest intuition all the differences of forms and selves vanish and what remains is one Brahman. It is not very difficult to see how the arguments and ideas of Gauḍapāda were akin to those of the Yogācārins.

What was outlined by Gauḍapāda in this Kārikā attained its full development in the hand of his worthy successor Ācārya Śaṅkara. Although in the course of his commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras*, he has often quarrelled with the Buddhists, yet we may say that the net result achieved is but a rehabilitation of the Upaniṣadic spirit in and through the metaphysical arguments of the different schools of Buddhism.

The literature of this period breathes in general the same philosophical spirit as is found in the Vedānta and the Yogācāra Buddhism. In the *Yogavāśiṣṭha* we often find an echo of the Buddhist idealists in holding the external world of diversity to be merely a construction of the mind.³ It has often been held in univocal language that the notion of the ego is purely an illusion, and the illusion of the world is but an evolution of the consciousness (*cit-vivarta*), and the original cause of this illusion and evolution is ignorance (*avidyā*) and the cessation of it is the real liberation. Neither

¹ *nā'ntaḥ-prajñam na bahiḥ-prajñam no'bhayataḥ prajñam |
adṛṣṭam avyavahāryam agrāhyam alakṣaṇam acintyam
avyapadeśyam ekātma-pratyaya-sāram prapañco-paśamaḥ
śāntam śivam adeśitam ||*

Gauḍapāda's Comm. on *Māṇḍūkya-paniṣat*, p. 40.

² *Ibid.*, p. 47, Verse 12.

³ *Yogavāśiṣṭha*, Vol. I, Ch. 27, Verses 34-35.

the ego (*aham*) nor the non-ego (*anaham*) is real,—both of them are illusions based on our ignorance.¹

The monistic tendency of Mahāyāna philosophy, coupled with the tendency of deifying Buddha in various ways, gave rise to the Tāntric Buddhist conception of a primordial Godhead—often as the Supreme Being. Once there was the clear belief in a Supreme Being—a God—the gods and goddesses followed almost as corollaries—as emanations from the One as modes and modifications. So there was not only a Supreme Lord in Tāntric Buddhism—there was soon a full-fledged pantheon. The idea of the Bodhisattvas and the tendency towards the deification of the Bodhisattvas helped in the growth of such an elaborate pantheon. Further, conforming to a special quality of the Indian mind the Primordial Lord was soon conceived to be eternally in company of His female consort, the Primordial Lady,—and as the Primordial Lord has His Primordial Lady, so the gods have their female consorts—the goddesses. In describing the Godhead—or even the gods and the goddesses the Tāntric Buddhists made much use of the Mahāyānic ideas discussed above; they frequently used ideas of Mahāyāna philosophy not only in describing the attributes of the Godhead or the gods and the goddesses—they made much use of them even in describing their figures as also in describing the mode of worshipping the pantheon; but the Mahāyānic ideas were introduced by the Tāntric Buddhists, more often than not, rather as traditional epithets and mystic formulae than as philosophical concepts.

¹ *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, Vol. II, *Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇam*, *Uttārārdham*. Ch. VI, p. 12.
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CHAPTER II

Unsystematised Philosophical Fragments Found In The Buddhist Tantras

Fragments of Mahāyānic philosophical ideas lie scattered in the Buddhist Tantras sometimes as speculations on the nature of the truth and mainly in the context of the ceremonies and secret Yogic practices. In adopting Mahāyāna Buddhism and the cognate monistic thought the Buddhist Tantras show little power of assimilation and systematisation. The loose speculations show a marked mixture of ideas, and the concepts are freely used more often in their traditional vagueness than in their precise philosophical connotation. The study of these philosophical fragments has no value by itself, for, as we have said, they say nothing new. The really important and interesting study will be the study of the history of the transformation of these philosophical ideas into esoteric theology and doctrines and their association with the esoteric practices with which the Tantras in general abound. Nevertheless, we are giving below some specimen of philosophical discussions from some of the representative Buddhist Tantras just to give the reader an idea as to how they occur in these texts.

The *Tattva-ratnāvalī*¹ of Pandit Advaya-vajra (popularly known as Avadhūtipā) subdivides the Yogācārins into (i) the *Sākāravādins*, and (ii) the *Nirākāravādins*, and the Mādhyamika school also is subdivided into (i) the *Māyo-pamā-dvaya-vāda* and (ii) *Sarva-dharmā-pratiṣṭhāna-vāda*. It affiliates both the Śrāvaka-yāna and the Pratyeka-buddha-yāna to the Vaibhāṣika school; the Sautrāntika, Yogācāra and the Mādhyamika schools are all said to belong to Mahāyāna.

¹ Collected in the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha*, edited by MM. H. P. Sāstrī (G.O.S., No. XL.)

The Mahāyāna school has been further divided here into (i) the *Pāramitānaya* (including the Sautrāntika, Yogācāra and the Mādhyamika schools) and (ii) *Mantranaya*; the nature of the latter is left unexplained because of its profound and subtle character.¹ There is an attempt in the text at explaining the characteristic features of the sub-schools; but the whole account given is extremely confused and the views of Śāṅkara and Bhāskara have been presented incidentally in a rather perverted and confused way.

In the *Tattva-prakāśa* (of the same author) we find a preference for the Mādhyamika thought to the Yogācāra. Though the Yogācārins hold the world to be as unreal as the perception of the locks of hair in space by a man with retinal defects, yet they speak of the reality of Vijñāna; but even in this theory of Vijñāna there remains scope for confusion. The Mādhyamika school, on the other hand, transcends all the four possible logical alternatives leaving no further scope for confusion.²

In the *Apratiṣṭhāna-prakāśa* (of the same author and collected in the *Advaya-vajra-saṁgraha*) also there is a preference for the Mādhyamika faith. It is said that consciousness cannot have existence for the past, present and the future,—and therefore the absolute essencelessness even of consciousness has been spoken of by the Lord.³ The origination of the *dharma*s is incomprehensible and therefore it is called *śūnyatā*. In the *Yuganaddha-prakāśa* (in the same collection) it has been said that anything that manifests itself should be known to be in its nature pure knowledge without any change or corruption,—for, in the ultimate nature everything is *śūnya* which is pure knowledge. As fire belongs neither to that against which anything is rubbed, nor to the churning rod, nor to the hands of the operator,—but it is produced with reference to all these factors, so also is the case with all origination.⁴ Thus,

¹ *Advaya-vajra-saṁgraha*, *Tattva-ratnāvalī*, p. 21.

² *Ibid.*, p. 46, Verse 7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 48, Verse 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49, Verses 2, 3.

because of this dependent origination, all the *dharmas* are non-essential and illusory as in magic. Because of the non-essential character there is the non-production of the *dharmas* and because of the cause and conditions there is also the non-destructibility of the *dharmas*; so there is neither existence nor non-existence,—existence and non-existence always appear in perfect union.¹ The same non-essential nature of the world has been spoken of in the *Mahāyāna-viṃśikā*.²

The *Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi* of Anaṅga-vajra begins like the *Madhyānta-vibhāga-ṭīkā* with the assertion that all existence comes from the absolute wherein there is no imaginary construction of existence,³—and from this false mental construction come all the pangs of sufferings. False notions give rise to the cycle of birth and death which is at the bottom of all miseries. So long as there is this false mental construction none can do any good either to himself or to others. So, to attain perfect bliss either for the self or for the three worlds, the wise must first of all do away with this notion of existence. But the author warns that after destroying the notion of existence one should not go to the opposite extreme of adopting the nihilistic view. It is better to have the imagination of existence (*bhāva-kalpanā*) than that of non-existence (*abhāva-kalpanā*); for, the burning lamp can be extinguished; but if it be not burning at all how can it be extinguished?⁴ If there be the notion of *bhāva*, there remains the possibility of *nirvāṇa*,—but if there be no notion of *bhāva* or *saṃsāra*, how can there be *nirvāṇa* or final extinction? There is no possibility of annihilating the beginningless vacuity.⁵ Here the contention of the author seems to be that our moral struggle for our final purification and perfection presupposes a world of objectivity and it is for

¹ *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha*, p. 49, Verse 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

³ *Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi*.

(G.O.S., Vol. No. XLIV), Ch. I, Verse 3.

⁴ *nirvāṇi jvalito dīpo nirvāṇaḥ kām gatiṃ vrajat.*

Ibid., Ch. I, Verse 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Ch. I, Verse 10.

this reason that for the final purification it is wiser to have even a false positive notion about the objective world than a purely negative notion which leaves no scope for morality. But we may mention here that this question did not escape the eyes of the so-called negativists, and Nāgārjuna in his *Mādhyamika-vṛtti* did answer the question definitely in his own way.¹

It is, however, urged here that as the illusory notion of existence should be abandoned, so also should be abandoned the notion of non-existence. He, who abandons the idea of both the real and the unreal, attains a state which is neither *saṃsāra* nor *nirvāṇa*, and this is pure knowledge (*prajñā*). In the chapter on the meditation on truth (*tattva-bhāvanā*) it has been said that he who realises the truth and meditates on it neither sinks deep in the unfathomable ocean of *saṃsāra*, nor does he remain in his narrow selfish *nirvāṇa*. In realising the truth one should meditate neither on the void (*śūnyatā*) nor on the non-void (*aśūnyatā*),—he should abandon neither the void nor the non-void. In the taking of either *śūnyatā* or *aśūnyatā* there are involved innumerable false constructions,—even in their abandonment there is the mental function of determination; so this taking up and giving up should both be avoided. When the conception of the egohood (*ahamityeṣa saṅkalpaḥ*) does not determine itself in the negative manner as non-void or in the positive manner as void it becomes bereft of all its basis of thought: the wise, therefore, without any attachment and desire, absolutely sinless, unruffled in mind and freed from the constructive imagination of a beginning or an end, should consider himself as pure vacuity.²

The exact nature of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* has very nicely been described in two verses at the end of this chapter. *Saṃsāra* is nothing but a condition of our mind (*citta*) which is overpowered with the darkness of innumerable mental constructions and which is as fleeting as the fickle

¹ Vide *Mādhyamika-vṛtti*, p. 53. La Vallée Poussin's Edition.

² *Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi*, Ch. IV, Verses 7-8. Similar ideas are found in many of the Tantras all of which need not be quoted here extensively.

flash of lightning in the storm, and which is besmeared with the almost ineffaceable stains of passions, etc. On the other hand, *nirvāṇa* is a stage of the same *citta*, which is effulgent, free from all constructions, from which all blemishes of passions, etc., have been obliterated, where there is neither the perceiver nor the perceived.¹

The *jñāna-siddhi*² also asserts that the ultimate truth is neither positive nor negative; for, in the positive there is the possibility of all the defects (*sarva-doṣa-prasaṅga*) and in the negative there is no way left for the relief of all sorrow.³ Pure knowledge is neither with any form (*sākāra*) nor is it formless (*nirākāra*). Had knowledge any form, it would have been *saṃskṛta* (conditional and defiled) as all existence is.⁴ Had knowledge, on the other hand, been absolutely formless, there would have remained no possibility for becoming omniscient,—and without omniscience there would be no possibility of universal compassion.⁵ A distinction is drawn here between ordinary knowledge (*jñāna*) and the knowledge of the highest truth (*tattva-jñāna*).⁶ The distinction is ultimately the same as that between *Prajñā* (the knowledge of the vacuity) and *Bodhicitta* (the combination of both *Prajñā* and *Karuṇā*). The former (i.e., *jñāna*, *prajñā*) however is *nirvikalpa*, i.e., free from all the false

¹ *anālpa-saṅkalpa-tamo'bhibhūtaṃ*
prabhañjano-nmatta-taḍic-calaṃ ca |
rāgādi-durvāra-malā-calīptaṃ
cittaṃ hi saṃsāraṃ uvāca vajrā ||
prabhāsavaram kalpanayā vimuktaṃ
prahīṇa-rāgādi-mala-pralepaṃ |
grāhyaṃ na ca grāhakaṃ agrasateṣaṃ
tad eva niroḍha-varam jagāda ||

Ch. IV, Verses 22-23.

These two verses and many other verses of the preceding chapters of this text are also found in the chapter on *Prajñā-pāya-bhāṣanā* (second chapter of the second section) of the *Sampuṭikā* or the *Sampuṭo-dbhava-kalpa-rāja*. Vide MS. R.A.S.B., No. 4854; Ms. pp. 14B, 15A, 15B.

² *Jñānasiddhi* (published under the caption of *Two Vajrayāna Works*) (G.O.S.), Ch. I, Verses 19-20.

³ *Ibid.*, Ch. XII, Verses 3-4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Ch. III.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Ch. IV.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Ch. V.

constructions; but the latter *tattva-jñāna* should never be taken as the complete cessation of consciousness (*niścittatā*); for in the *tattva-jñāna* there is the existence of universal compassion (*karuṇā-bhāva*).

In the *Śrīguhya-samāja-tantra*¹ it has been said about the nature of the *dharma*s that the *dharma*s do not belong to the *kāmadhātu* (world of desire) nor to the *rūpadhātu* (material world) nor to the *arūpadhātu* (supernatural sphere of existence), neither do they belong to the four great elements.² It has been said about the illusory nature of the *dharma*s that as the sky remains pervading all space, yet it is mixed up with nothing, neither is it unmixed;—it is indescribable, invisible and cannot be proved in any way,—so is to be understood the nature of all the *dharma*s. This void-nature of the *dharma*s belongs to none of the three worlds (*kāma*, *rūpa* and *a-rūpa*),—and what is not in the three worlds cannot be produced and what cannot be produced cannot have any origination. It is said that Bodhicitta produces knowledge in all the Tathāgatas; but this Bodhicitta remains neither in the body nor in the word nor in the mind; and what is not in these three elements cannot be produced. The function of the three elements (*trai-dhātuka-kriyā*) is like the dream, resembling the dream and originated in the dream. Thus all the Tathāgatas, all the Buddhas of the ten quarters, all the Bodhisattvas and other

¹ This text is edited by Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D., and is published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Vol. LIII); it is taken by the editor to be the earliest text on the Vajrayāna School of Buddhism and as such the most important of all the Vajrayāna texts. Prof. M. Winternitz in reviewing this book in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Vol. IX., No. 1) says that this text published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series is not the same as the *Tathāgata-guhyasūtra* quoted and referred to in Śāntideva's *Śikṣā-samuccaya*. Prof. Winternitz is loath to believe (and he also adduces reason for his position) that the *Guhya-samāja* (the text in question) is written by as great a personality and philosopher as Asaṅga, and he is not also ready to believe that the text belongs to as early a period as the 3rd or the 4th century A.D. We have our sympathy with Prof. Winternitz so far as the time and authorship of the text is concerned; but nevertheless, we must add that in many of the Buddhist Tāntric texts we find reference to and quotations from this *Śrīguhya-samāja* (or simply *Śrīsamāja*) and these quotations most often (though not always) tally with the text edited by Dr. Bhattacharyya.

² *Ibid.*, Ch. IX, pp. 37-8.

beings—all are to be understood as in the dream.¹ Just as the well-known *cintāmaṇi* (wish-yielding) gem yields gold, silver and other riches as soon as one thinks of them, but these riches belong neither to the mind of the suitor, nor to the gem itself, yet they are produced; same is the case with the origination of all the *dharma*s.² The Tathāgatas asked the Lord Vajrapāṇi,—‘Where do remain all the *tathāgata-dharma*s and whence are they originated?’ The reply of the Lord is,—‘They remain in the body, speech and mind of the Tathāgata and are produced therefrom.’ ‘But where does the body-word-mind remain?’ ‘In the void (*ākāśa*)’ replied the Lord. ‘But where does remain the void?’ ‘Nowhere’ is the emphatic reply.³

Āryadeva in his *Citta-viśuddhi-prakaraṇa*,⁴ echoes the views of Yogācāra and Vedānta when he says that as the perception of silver in the shell is effaced only when one perceives it to be nothing but the shell, so all our ignorance vanishes after the realisation of the void (*nairātmya-darśana*); as the perception of the snake is contradicted by the perception of the rope as rope, so also all perceptions of phenomenalisation are contradicted by *śūnyatā* or adamant knowledge (*vajra-jñāna*). The gem of mind is covered with the mud of beginningless thought-constructions: it shines forth when it is washed with the water of the knowledge of the void and the experience of universal compassion.⁵

Padma-vajra in his *Guhya-siddhi* says that the wise should not think of existence;—but he should also shake off the idea of non-existence; in the conception of existence he has to admit the permanence of things; and the conception of non-existence involves extreme nihilism. The reality is free from both existence and non-existence—it is the supportless *Nirvāṇa* purged of all blemishes: it is beyond the comprehension of even all the Buddhas who are endowed

¹ *Srīguhya-samāja-tantra*, Ch. XV, pp. 109, 110.

² *Ibid.*, p. 110; also see Ch. XVII.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-12.

⁴ Verses 67-68.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Verse 117.

with the knowledge of the void nature,—in it there is neither the goer nor the going nor the place to be traversed : there is neither the thinker, nor the thought, nor the thinkable ; it is inexpressible,—indiscernible,—free from the taker and the taken ; it is indefinable, stainless— it is exclaimed to be the *Nirvāṇa*.¹ Thus the ultimate non-essential nature of any *dharma* is its *Nirvāṇa* nature and this nature is not purely nihil ; it is rather the ' thatness ' of the things,—the cosmic oneness ; it is the primordial source of all the *dharma*s, it is the seed of all entities. Its form is not known,—it is beyond the reach of speech,—it is beyond all sound, scent and taste. —it is beyond even the mind.² This ultimate truth is the knowledge, it is the pure *dharma-dhātu* as free from all phenomenalisation.³ As the non-dual principle of supreme good the truth is pervading all the objects—all the universe.⁴ It is neither one nor many, nor is it one and many at the same time ; it is waveless, unmanifested—all pervading.⁵

- ¹ *bhāvan na bhāvayed dhīmān abhāvaṃ dūratas tyajet |*
ekasmin dāśate grāhya itaratrā'pi śūnyatā ||

bhāva-bhāva-cinirmuktaṃ nispaditam anākālam |
apratigṛhita-nirvāṇaṃ nirdhātā-śeṣa-kalmaṣam ||
taṃ nityabhāva-yuktānāṃ buddhānāṃ apy agocaram |
na tatra gantā gamanaṃ gamyate yatra vā kvacit ||
bhāvako bhāvanā-bhāvo nā'bhavaḥ (?) paramārthataḥ |
avācyaṃ anirūpyaṃ ca grāhya-grāhaka-carjitam ||
alakṣyaṇaṃ virajāṇ ca nirvāṇaṃ tat pragīyate ||

Guhya-siddhi, MS. (C.L.B. No. 3/24). pp. 12(B)—13(A).

- ² *Ibid.*, MS. p. 13(B).

- ³ *sarva-prapañca-nirmuktaṃ rūpaṃ yat paramaṃ śivam |*
dharma-dhātu-svabhāva-khyaṃ jñānaṃ tad iha kīrtitam ||

Ibid., MS. p. 16(A).

- ⁴ *yat tattvaṃ sarva-bhūtāni(nāṃ ?) grāhya-grāhaka-carjitam |*
vyāpayitrā sthitaṃ śivyaṃ sarvagaṃ paramaṃ śivam ||

Ibid., MS. p. 27(A).

- ⁵ *na tad ekaṃ na cā'nekam ekā-nekaṃ ca naiva tat |*
nīstaraṅgaṃ nīrabhāsaṃ saṃsthitā sarvato-mukham ||

Ibid., MS. p. 17(B).

In the same strain Kuddāla-pāda says in his *Acintyā-dṛṣya-krama-padeśa* (also known as the *Bhadra-pāda-krama* according to the name of Bhadra-pāda, the preceptor of Kuddāla-pāda, MS. C.L.B., No. 13124) that meditative contemplation is nothing but viewing all things as ' unconstructed '. That which has neither any nature, nor any origination, nor any destruction, is the non-dual truth—it is

As we have said, the philosophical fragments occur more often in connection with the rituals, ceremonies and esoteric yogic practices than independently. Meditation on the truth generally precedes all the ceremonies, rituals and yogic practices. All ceremonies and practices are absolutely useless until one attains a true perspective about the nature of all *dharma*s through meditation on the truth. In the *Sādhana-mālā*, which is a big collection of the *Sādhana* of various Tāntric Buddhist gods and goddesses with all the paraphernalia of rituals and ceremonies, the principles of both *Sūnyavāda* and *Vijñānavāda* are mentioned cursorily in connection with the various parts of the *sādhana*.¹

In the *Vajra-tārā-sādhanam* it is prescribed that one should ponder over the nature of the *dharma*s, whose ultimate nature is the *citta*; the *citta* itself takes the illusory appearances of the varieties of the *dharma*s. As in dream there is no knowable outside the mind, and yet the mind perceives things,—so also is the case with the life-experiences. So, all the *dharma*s are made up of the substance of consciousness, and the absolute negation of the perceiver and the perceived is the ultimate reality.² With this firm conviction the *Sādhaka* should do away with the illusory appearances of things and perceive their ultimate nature as infinite non-dual pure consciousness, which is bright as pure crystal,—or the cloudless noon-day sky of the autumn. This is the transcendental knowledge of the void,—free from phenomenalisation and all thought-constructions.³

perfect knowledge. Thought-construction is the outward world,—unconstruct is the adamant truth of the nature of supreme bliss.

¹ See *Sādhana-mālā* (G.O.S. No. XXVI), Vol. I. pp. 73, 93-94 and 146; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 398.

² *Ibid.*, p. 225

³ *Ibid.*, p. 226

This doctrine of *Vijñānavāda* is also found in the *Khasarpana-sādhanam* (p. 39), *Eka-jatā-sādhanam* (p. 254) and here and there in some other places also. In the *Śaḍakṣarī-lokeśvara-sādhanam* we find that the three elements should be realised as of the form as well as of the nature of magical illusion; all our visual and tactual perceptions are in the dream, as it were. (*Ibid.*, p. 29; also pp. 105, 271.) In another place it has been advised to think of the whole world as a magic—as a mirage—as a moon reflected in water. (*Ibid.*, p. 133.) All existence is to be thought of as void; for, there cannot be any definition of its nature;

The Buddhist Tantras abound with *mantras*; and these *mantras* are often nothing but some cardinal truths representing Mahāyānic faith and philosophy. These *mantras* are to be chanted in the rites, ceremonies, meditations and also in connection with various Yogic practices.

In the *Pañca-karma* of Nāgārjuna-pāda we find four gradations in the Śūyatā doctrine. The first is Śūnya, the second Ati-śūnya, the third Mahā-śūnya, and the fourth or the final is the Sarva-śūnya,—and these are all different according to their cause and effect.¹ The first stage Śūnya has been explained as light (*āloka*)²; it is knowledge (*prajñā*), and the mind remains active in it,—it is relative (*paratantra*) by nature.³ In this stage mind has got as many as thirty-three impure states (*doṣa*) associated with it. These are sorrow, fear, hunger, thirst, feeling (*vedanā*), sympathy (*samavedanā*), self-analysis (*pratyavekṣā*), kindness (*kāruṇya*), affectionateness (*sneha-tantraka*), fickleness (*cakita*), doubt (*saṁśaya*), jealousy (*mātsarya*), etc.⁴ This mental stage Śūnya has been called the woman (*strī*), and it has been said that of all illusions the illusion of the woman is the greatest.⁵ It is also called the left (*vāma*) and the lotus in the lunar circle; it is said to be the first vowel to indicate its adamant nature.⁶

and as we cannot find out sufficient reason behind all existence it should be thought of as uncaused; the nature of existence always escapes intellectual comprehension. (*Ibid.*, p. 170.)

¹ *śūnyaṁ ca atīśūnyaṁ ca mahāśūnyaṁ tṛtīyakam |*
caturtham sarva-śūnyaṁ ca phala-hetu-prabhedataḥ ||
Pañca-krama. MS. (B.N. No. 65) p. 20(A).

² Cf. *prajñā-tpanna ālokaḥ prādurbhūtaḥ |*
Lalita-vistara (Ed. by Dr. S. Lefmam), pp. 417-18.

³ *ā ('a' sic.) lokam śūnyaṁ prajñā ca cittam ca paratantrakam |*
MS. p. 20.

In the commentary also *śūnya-prajñā* is explained as light—
śūnya-prajñā āloka iti yāvat. MS. (B.N. No. 66) p. 43(B).

⁴ *Ibid.*, MS. p. 20(B).

⁵ *strī-saṁjñā ca tathā proktā mandā-kāras tathāiva ca |*
Ibid., MS. p. 20(B).

Also *sarveṣāṁ māyānāṁ strī-māyaiva viśisyate |*
Ibid., MS. p. 21(A).

⁶ *vāma-saṁjñā (m, sic.) punaś caiva candra-maṇḍala-paṅkajam |*
dyṅhīkaraṇa-hetuvāt sa binduḥ prathamaḥ svaraḥ ||

Ibid., MS. p. 20(B).

The second stage, *viz.*, Ati-śūnya is said to be the manifestation of light (*ālokābhasā*), it shines like moon-rays and it proceeds from the former (*āloka-jñāna*), and while śūnya is said to be Prajñā, Ati-śūnya is said to be the Upāya, or the means. It is also said to be of the nature of constructive imagination (*parikalpita*) and it belongs to the mind as its (mind's) states (*caitasika*).¹ It is also said to be the right (*dakṣiṇa*), the solar circle (*sūrya-maṇḍala*) and the thunderbolt (*vajra*).² There are forty momentary mental states of defilement, associated with it.³ 'These are passion, contentment, joy, pleasure, wonder, patience, valour, pride, energy, courage, greed, shamelessness, cunning, wickedness, crookedness, etc.'⁴ The third stage, *viz.*, Mahā-śūnya proceeds from the union of Prajñā and Upāya or *āloka* and *ālokābhāsa*, or Śūnya and Ati-śūnya, and it is called the intuition of light (*āloko-palabdhi*) and is of the absolute nature (*pariniṣpanna*),—yet it is called ignorance (*avidyā*).⁵ It has also been said to be the *Śvādhiṣṭhāna-citta*.⁶ There are seven impure mental states of defilement (*prakṛti-doṣa*) associated with it,—these are forgetfulness (*vismṛti*), illusion (*bhrānti*), stupor, laziness, etc. Thus *āloka*, *ālokābhāsa* and *āloko-palabdhi*—these are the three stages of the *citta* and from them there follow the principles of impurities which number hundred and sixty in all (eighty in total, but doubled in day and night), and they function throughout the

niśākarā-mūlu-saṅkāśā āloka-jñāna-sambhavaḥ |
ālokā-bhāsam ity uktam atīśūnyam upāyakam ||
parikalpitaṁ tathā proktaṁ proktaṁ caitasikaṁ tathā
Pañca-krama, Ma. p. 20, Rv.

¹ *Ibid.*, MS. p. 21(A).

² *catevārimś t prakṛteyaḥ kṣaṇikāś cā'tīśūnyatāḥ |*
Ibid., MS. p. 21(A).

³ *Ibid.*, MS. p. 21(A).

⁴ *ālokaśyo'palabdhiś ca upalabdhaṁ tātthaiva ca |*
pariniṣpannakaṁ caiva avidyā caiva nāmataḥ ||
Ibid., MS. p. 21(A).

⁵ See commentary on Songs Nos. 12 and 41.

Buddha-gāna-o-dohā, edited by MM. H. P. Śāstrī, pp. 23 and 68.

Cf. also:—*śvādhiṣṭhānaḥ śvādhiṣṭhānam/prañño-pāyā-tmaka-vijñāno-*
namītanam ity arthaḥ |

Pañcakrama-ṭippanī, MS. p. 46(B).

whole day and night with the flow of the vital wind (*vāyu*) which has been said to be the vehicle (*vāhana*) through which these impurities of nature (*prakṛti-doṣa*) function.¹ It has been said, wherever there is the (function of the) bio-motor force or the vital wind, nature (*prakṛti*) with all her impurities is also brought along with it ; and so long as there is the function of this bio-motor force or the vital wind, the principles of impurity will not cease to function.² As the function of this vital wind goes on day and night, the principles of impurities also function always. In the *Sūnya* stage the *vāyu* remains mixed up with thought ; in the next stage thought predominates over this *vāyu* and the third stage is a mixture of both the previous stages. Though knowledge is pure consciousness and is of indeterminate nature like that of the sky, yet there are differences in knowledges as there are differences in the sky in twilight, night and day.³

The fourth stage, *viz.*, *Sarva-sūnya* (all-void or perfect void) is free from all the three-fold impurities and is self-illuminant. It is called perfect-void because of its absolute purity obtained by transcending these principles of defilement. It is the purified knowledge—the ultimate truth—it is the supreme omniscience. It is without change—without appearance, without duality—it is the supreme good. Whether it is any state of existence or non-existence cannot be known ; it is beyond the scope of verbal expression. From this self-luminous purity, which results from the three preceding stages, proceeds the Omniscient (Buddha) endowed with all possible merits, all the thirty-two signs of

¹ *etāḥ prakṛtayaḥ sūkṣmāḥ śataśāḥ saṁsthyu-ṭtaram divā |*
rātrau cāpi pravartante (tate, sic.) vāyu-vāhana-hetunā ?
Pañca-krama, MS. pp. 21(A), 21(B).

² *yaṭra yaṭra sthito vāyus taṁ taṁ prakṛtim udvahet |*
yāvat samirāṇo-tpādo (ho, sic.) nābhāso nīcalo bhavet |
Ibid., MS. p. 21(B).

³ *saṁvitti-mātrakaṁ jñānam ākāśavad alakṣaṇam |*
kintu tasya prabheda'sti sandhyā-rātri-divā-tmanā |
Ibid., MS. p. 21(B).

greatness and also the eighty consonants.' In the *Abhi-sambodhi-krama* of *Pañca-krama* it has been said, "Perfect void may be said to be without beginning or with beginning, without middle or with middle,—without end or with end: this is what the wise say." ² Here there is neither going nor not-going, neither decrease nor increase, neither existence nor non-existence. It is free from the categories of either being or non-being,—it is neither of the nature of merit nor of the nature of demerit,—nor is it a combination of both. ³

We have seen above how the *Śūnyatā*-doctrine of the Mahāyānic philosophers was adopted by the esoteric Buddhists; but the emphasis of Mahāyāna is not only on *Śūnyatā*; as a religion it is characterised by its stress on universal compassion. This Mahāyāna doctrine of compassion also was, we have hinted before, adopted by these Tāntric Buddhists in toto. All the preachings, all the rites and ceremonies, all the mystic practices have the stamp of *Karuṇā* on them, *i.e.*, everything is said to be undertaken only with the view to saving the world from all miseries. We have seen in the *Bodhi-caryā-vatāra* how the devout Bodhisattva was earnestly praying to all the enlightened ones, bent on entering *nirvāṇa*, not to accept *nirvāṇa* until the suffering world be saved from the miseries of life and every one be helped in realising perfect wisdom. We find a very

¹ *śūnya-traya-viśudhir yo prabhāsavaram iho'cyate ||*
sarva-śūnya-padam tac ca jñāna-traya-viśuddhitah |
jñāna-buddhi-padam tattvam sarvajñateam anuttaram ||
nirvikāram nirābhāsam nirvandeam paramam śivam |
asti'ti na ca nā'sti na ca tad vākya-gocaram ||
atah prabhāsarāt buddhāt jñāna-traya-samudbhavaḥ |
deśa-trimśal-lakṣaṇa-dhara hy aśti-vyāñjanā-neital |
sarvā-kāra-vara-petaḥ sarvajña jāyate tataḥ ||

Pañca-krama, MS. pp. 22(B), 23(A).

² *anādi-bhūtaṁ te athavā'di-bhūtaṁ amadhya-bhūtaṁ atha madhya-bhūtaṁ |*
ananta-bhūtaṁ te athavānta-bhūtaṁ sarva-śūnyaṁ pravadanti śantāḥ ||

Ibid., MS. p. 30(A).

³ *yaś asti-nāsti-vyavahāra-muktaṁ na puṇya-rūpaṁ na ca pāpa-rūpaṁ |*
na puṇya-pāpa-tmakam agra-bhūtaṁ tat sarva-śūnyaṁ pravadanti
buddhāḥ ||

Ibid., MS. p. 30(A).

beautiful echo of it in the *Jñāna-siddhi* where all the compassionate Buddhas are earnestly requested not to accept their own *nirvāṇa*, but to wait on and on until all the creatures attain perfect Buddhahood.¹ In the *Sādhana-mālā* we find it an essential part of many of the *sādhana*s to pray to the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas, bent on attaining *nirvāṇa*, to wait for time eternal for the benefit of all beings. The Buddhas, who are the fathers of the afflicted helpless beings, are requested to postpone their *nirvāṇa* and to preach the true religion among all the beings until they are enabled to cross the sea of *saṃsāra* and attain perfect bliss. The aspirer is found not only to pray to the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas to renounce their *nirvāṇa*,—but he himself also renounces his own *nirvāṇa* and pledges his life for the benefit of all beings. It is said—“I have deceived all the beings—how shall I save them (who are pitiable alas!) from this unfathomable sea of existence? Thus being filled with compassion for the beings, the aspirer should reject the *śūnyatā* which makes a man altogether static,—and through the effort of the mind he should produce a *citta* which is full of the *dharma-dhātu*.² It is said in the *Citta-viśuddhi-prakaraṇa* of Āryadeva that great beings with sound wisdom and alert mind should win the fierce battle of life and then save others also. A beast also courts affliction for his own interest; but rare and blessed are those master minds who court affliction for the sake of the world. The wretched selfish creatures also bear the pains of cold and blast for their own sake,—but why should they not do the same for the interest of the whole world?³ It is often seen, when a *Sādhaka* goes to worship any god or goddess with all the

¹ Ch. VIII.

² *Sādhana-mālā*, Vol. II, p. 344.

³ *mahā-satto maho-pāyāḥ sthira-buddhir atantritaḥ |*
jītvā duṣṭara-saṃgrāmaṃ tārayed aparāṇ api ||
paśavo'pi hi klīyante svārtha-mātra-parāyaṇāḥ |
jagad-artha-vidhātāro dhanyās te viralā janāḥ ||
śīta-vātā-di-duḥkhāni sahante svārtha-lampaṭāḥ |
jagad-artha-praṇptās te na sahante katham nu te ||

Citta-viśuddhi-prakaraṇa, Verses 54-56.

paraphernalia of rituals and ceremonies, he takes, at the outset, the resolution that he will deliver all the beings and enable them to attain complete *nirvāṇa*.¹

Even in the description of the gods and goddesses we see that compassion is almost everywhere an essential attribute of them.² We may, for instance, compare the description of the goddess *Vārāhī* as found in her meditation in the *Abhidhāno-ttara*, where she is described as having a heart melted with compassion for beings,—as engrossed in the emotion of universal compassion, bent on doing good to all beings.³

It may also be noticed that almost all the Tantras are introduced with an apology of doing good to all the beings by the preaching of the true religion. The *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa-tantra* introduces all the ceremonials and ritualistic practices—all the *mantras* and *tantras* as being instructed by the Lord Buddha himself only for the good of all beings.⁴ The *Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi* also says that all truth was preached and explained by the great sages only

¹ In the *Ṣaḍ-akṣari-lokeśvara-sādhanaṃ* of the *Sādhana-mālā* we see that the *Sādhaka* is taking the vow of enabling all the beings—whatever be their origin, and be they endowed with form or be they without form,—be they conscious or unconscious,—to attain the *anupādhi-śeṣa-samādhi* (i.e., *nirvāṇa* without any residuum; cf. the *nirupādhi-śeṣa-samādhi* of the *Mādhyamika-ṛtti*, *Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa*. Cf. also the *Abhiṣeka-paṭala* of the *Heruka-tantra*).

² In the *Srī-guhyā-samāja* Lord Mañjuśrī is depicted as compassionate to the whole world and bent on doing good to all beings. (Ch. XVII. p. 146, G.O.S.).

³ *prajñā-pāya-samāpannā karuṇā-rāga-sammukhā |*
sattvā-rīti-hetu-sambhūtā karuṇā-rāga-ecetasā ||
gaganā-bhoga-sambhogā mahā-karuṇā-raso-tsukā |
ṣaṭ-trīṃśati-bhava-saṃśodhīyā (?) sattvā-rīti-kṛta-tatparā ||
sūnyatā-jñāna-sambhūtā nirvikalpā nirālayā |
nirvabhāva-parā sūkṣmā vīdu-nāda-vicārjitā ||

MS. pp. 48(B)—49(A).

⁴ Cf. also *Mahāyāna-viṃśikā*.—'By whatever merit I have acquired through this, let all people be made bent on attaining the Bodhi' (quoted in the *Adeśya-vajra-saṃgraha*). At the end of the *Khasarpaṇa-sādhana* of the *Sādhana-mālā*, the *Sādhaka* proclaims,—'By whatever merit is acquired by me by performing this *sādhana* of the lord of the world,—let the world attain the (ultimate) state.' Similar verses occur after the performance of many of the *sādhana*s. (See *Sādhana-mālā*, pp. 48, 75, 171, 206). Even the mystic circle is to be described for the welfare of the beings. [*Kriyā-saṃgraha*, MS. p. 74(B),]

with the purpose of rendering some help to the suffering world.¹

In initiating a disciple to the mystic cult for the attainment of the Bodhicitta the preceptor should first of all see that the disciple has a benevolent mind,² and the Guru instructs the disciple to perform all the practices only for the benefit of the beings.³ To bear with a calm unruffled spirit all sorts of mental and physical torture for the sake of the world was deemed to be a great virtue in Buddhism; as a result, we see that in the Tantras, as in Buddhism in general, it became a religious practice to inflict torture on the body.⁴ It was also another practice to try to become one with the whole universe through repeated and deeply concentrated meditation and to perform the religious practices or the Yoga after one had realised oneself completely identical with the

¹ In the Sanskrit portion of the *Dākārṇava* (edited by MM. H. P. Sāstri) the goddess Vārāhī entreats the lord Mahāvīreśvara to remove all her doubts and to explain to her all the secrets of Yoga for the good of the beings (*kathayantu mama svāmī sattoṇām upakāraṇam*); to this the lord replies,—‘Propitiated am I, O goddess! I shall explain in detail all that will bring about the good of all beings, harken all with a concentrated mind.’ (P. 137, Sāhitya-parīṣat edition.) In the production of the Bodhicitta, in the practices, rites and ceremonies, even in the sexo-yogic practice it has always been proclaimed that everything is done only for the good of all beings. Thus it is said in the *Kudṛṣṭi-nirghātanam* of the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha*, ‘I shall produce the great Bodhicitta and shall lead and guide all the beings to the right path; I shall undergo all the practices for the attainment of Bodhi—and shall be the Buddha for the good of the world.’ (Pp. 5-6; also see *Sādhana-mālā*, pp. 3, 29.) In the *Kriyā-saṃgraha* (in the chapter on the production of the Bodhicitta) it is said,—‘By this meritorious work (*kuśala-karma*) soon shall I be a Buddha and I shall preach the truth for the good of the world and deliver the beings oppressed with miseries.’

gṛhītaṃ sambaraṃ kṛtsnaṃ sarva-sattoṇ-rtha-kāraṇāt |
atirṇān tārayiṣyāmi amuktān mocayāmy aham ||

MS. (B.N. No. 31) p. 36(B).

anena cāhaṃ kuśalena karmaṇā
bhavya buddho na cireṇa loka |
deśeya dharmam jagato hitāya
moceya sattoṇ bahu-duḥkha-pīditān ||

MS. (B.N. No. 31) p. 36(B). Also see *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha*, p. 9.

² Cf. *dīnoddhāraṇa-cittāya pradēyaṃ divya-sādhanaṃ ||*

Jcālāvalī-vajra-mālā-tantra. MS.

³ *akhinna-vigatā-saṅgaḥ sattoṇ-rtham kuru sāmpratam ||*

MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 4854) p. 13(B).

⁴ Vide *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha*, Ch. VIII. Also *Sādhana-mālā*, pp. 1, 57 (G.O.S.).

universe, so that after this identification of the self with the universe any merit acquired by the Sādhaka would be a merit acquired by the whole universe and the liberation of the self will be the liberation of the whole universe. Through meditation first the universe must be identified with the self, so that there may be complete oneness of the self and the universe.¹

In the songs and the *Dohās* of the Siddhācāryas we find this spirit of universal compassion expressed often in a very nice way. In the *Dākārṇava* the Sādhaka is requested first to realise the pain of bondage in the world and to meditate on the compassion for beings.² It has been very nicely said by Saraha-pāda in his *Dohās*,—"Whoever thinks this to be the self—this to be the other—perverts himself even in the absence of bondage and even though he is liberated. Don't make the mistake of the self and the not-self; everything is of the nature of perfect enlightenment from time eternal,—this great lord of unblemished citta is pure by nature."³ "The great tree of non-dual mind spreads throughout the three worlds in its vastness; it contains flowers and fruits of compassion,—there is nothing beyond it."⁴ Saraha-pāda concludes with the verse,—“If no good to others is done,—no gift is given at all,—what is the need of living this life in the world at all? It is better to do away

¹ *śīrasaḥ padato vāpi yāvad dhyādayam āgataḥ |*
bhūta-koṭīm viśet yogī piṇḍa-grāha iti smṛtaḥ ||
sthāvaram jaṅgamaṁ caiva pūrvaṁ kṛtvā prabhāsavaram |
paścāt kuryāt tathā-tmānam anubheda-kramo'hyayam ||
śvāsa-vāto yathā'darśe layaṁ gacchati sarvataḥ |
bhūta-koṭīm tathā yogī pravīṇo ca muhurmuhuḥ ||
gacchantaḥ tiṣṭhan svayam (?) bhuñjann unmīṣan nīmīṣan haṣan |
enena dhyāna-yogena sadā tiṣṭhātī tattvavit ||

Pañca-krama. MS. p. 30(B).

Cf. also, Śrī-cakra-sambhāra-tantra—Ed. by Arthur Avalon, p. 72. Also see Sādhana-mālā, p. 504 (G.O.S.).

² *loaṇa karuṇa bhavaḥa tumma/saala surāsura buddhaḥa jimma ||*
Dākārṇava—Ed. by Dr. N. N. Chaudhury, p. 122.

³ *Dohakoṣa—Ed. by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, p. 22. (Many of these dohās are ascribed also to Tillopāda, see Ibid., p. 2.).*

⁴ *addaḥa citta-taruaraha gaḥa tihuvane vitthāra |*
karuṇā phullī-phala dharai nāḥa paratta āra ||

Ibid., p. 23.

with it."¹ This stress on Karuṇā in various ways is a characteristic feature also of the Caryā-padas.²

¹ *para ādra na kiā atthi na diā dāna |*
ehu saṁsāre karaṇa phalu eoru chuddaha appāna ||

Ibid., p. 23.

² It is said by Kambalāmbara-pāda in a song that his boat of karuṇā is filled with the gold of vacuity. (Song No. 8.) In another song where Kāṇhu-pāda explains the esoteric doctrine by the metaphor of the chess-game, compassion has been made the play-board. (Song No. 12.) Again in explaining the ultimate stage Kāṇhu-pāda says that he sees his body in compassion and vacuity. (Song No. 13.) In the commentary of the Caryās the Siddhācāryas are said to have composed these songs through deep compassion for the beings. (See Comm. on Songs Nos. 1, 7, 8.)

CHAPTER III

SCHOOLS OF TĀNTRIC BUDDHISM

In describing the schools of esoteric Buddhism the best thing would have been to trace historically the origin and development of the various schools with their particular faiths, doctrines and practices; but the data for such a historical survey are so scanty and confused that we do not venture to make such an attempt. Dr. Benayatosh Bhattacharya in his *Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism* has of course made an attempt at constructing some sort of a history of the Vajrayānist and the Sahajiyā preachers; but so vast and confused is the field and so scanty and doubtful are the materials that the structure does not seem to be very well built. The same remark holds good for the attempt made by Dr. Shahidullah in tracing the history of the Sahajiyā Buddhist School in his work *Les Chants Mystiques de Kanha et de Saraha*.

(i) *The Evolution of Mantra-yāna*

In the *Tattva-ratnāvalī* (collected in the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha*) we find Mahāyāna sub-divided into two schools, viz., Pāramitā-naya and Mantra-naya. The principles of Mantra-naya are said to be very deep and subtle and inaccessible to ordinary men; and though the ultimate purpose of the Mantra-śāstra is the same as that of others, it is distinctly superior to the other Śāstras, which prescribe many easier methods; the reason is that it (*i.e.*, Mantra-śāstra) is free from delusions and it is accessible only to people of higher intellectual calibre.¹ This Mantra-naya or Mantra-yāna

¹ *ekā-rthate' py asammohāt bahūpāyād aduṣkarāt |*
nikṣependriyā-dhikāraṇe ca mantra-śāstram vidīyate ||

Tattva-ratnāvalī in Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha, p. 21.

school of Mahāyāna seems to be the introductory stage of Tāntric Buddhism from which all the other offshoots of Vajra-yāna, Kālacakra-yāna, Sahaja-yāna, etc., arose in later times. In the *Laghu-kāla-cakra-tantra-rāja-tīkā*, entitled *Vimala-prabhā*, we find that the doctrines of the Pāramitā-naya are written wholly in Sanskrit, while those of the Mantra-naya are explained in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramśa and even in the non-Sanskritic languages like those of the Śavaras and others.¹

Speculations have been made as to who introduced this Mantra-element, or Tāntricism as a whole, into Buddhism. Tradition holds Asaṅga, the exponent of the Yogācāra School to be responsible for the introduction of Tāntricism into Buddhism; he again, in his turn, is believed to have been initiated into this mystic cult by Maitreya in the Tuṣita-heaven. Apart from the popular traditions, some scholars are disposed to think that in the *Mahayāna-sūtrā-lāṅkāra* of Asaṅga there are clear references to the sexo-yogic practice of the Tāntric Buddhists. It is said in a verse of the text —“ In the *parāvṛtti* of sexual union supreme greatness is obtained (namely), in the enjoyment of Buddha-happiness and in looking without impure thoughts at a wife.”. Sylvain Lévi suggests that “ *parāvṛtti* of sexual act ” in the present context alludes to “the mystic couples of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas which have so much importance in Tāntricism”. But Prof. Winternitz maintains that *parāvṛtti* here means nothing but ‘ turning aside, discard ’.² Dr. P. C. Bagchi is of opinion that the phrase may really refer to the Tāntric sexo-yogic practice through which there is the enjoyment of bliss similar to that arising from the sexual act,—and the significance of this mystic union and the consequent enjoyment of bliss is given in the *Sūtrā-lāṅkāra* itself.³ If

¹ *samskṛta-bhāṣayā pāramitānayaṁ |*
mantranayaṁ tantra-tantrā-ntaraṁ samskṛta-bhāṣayā prākṛta-bhāṣayā
apabhramśa-bhāṣayā asamskṛta-śavarādi-mleccha-bhāṣayā |
Laghu-kāla-cakra-tantra-rāja-tīkā (MS. R.A.S.B. 4727), p. 30(A).

² *Indian Historical Quarterly*, IX, 1.

³ *Studies in the Tantras* by Dr. P. C. Bagchi.

this interpretation of the phrase be accepted the tradition of Tāntricism being introduced into Buddhism by Asaṅga becomes to some extent significant.

Others on the other hand hold that Nāgārjuna, the renowned exponent of the Mādhyamika School, was the real founder of the esoteric school, and he received the doctrines from the Celestial Buddha Vairocana through the divine Boddhisattva Vajrasattva at 'the iron tower' in South India. But according to a Tibetan account¹ 'Nāgārjuna was initiated into Tāntricism by the well-known Siddhā-cārya Saraha-pāda who 'directed him to Mantra-pattha'. It is further said, 'He practised with success the Mahamanjuri, Kuru-kulle and other (Tantras), and attained worldly success in profusion, specially in Rasayana and sticking to it; and he attained Vajra-kaya-siddhi'. Again it is said, Nāgārjuna came to Pundra-varadhana, and "having learnt all the Tara-tantras" 'imbibed and collected the Maha-kala Tantra, the Kuru-kulle Tantra, etc.' We find a Nāgārjuna of the later times to whose authority are ascribed some important Tāntric texts: the Tibetan account perhaps makes a confusion between Nāgārjuna, the Tāntric and Nāgārjuna, the great philosopher.

Without puzzling our brain over these traditions, it may be said at the very outset that it will perhaps be wrong to try to discover a particular man who might have introduced Tāntricism into Buddhism all at once at a particular point of time. Tāntricism, we have seen, includes heterogeneous elements which were introduced into Buddhism gradually in course of centuries perhaps. If we concentrate our attention on an earlier and simpler form of it, viz., the Mantra-naya, we see, that belief in Mantras is to be found in India prevalent from the Vedic to the modern times. The Indian Buddhists were Indians in spite of being Buddhists, and as Indians the early Buddhists also had some sort of belief in Mantras—a belief in the mysterious power in the

¹ See an article, A Tibetan Account of Nagarjuna by S. C. Sarcar published in *The Sino-Indian Journal*, December, 1948.

sound of a word, or a string of words,—a power which is something more, or other, than the power which lie hidden in the accepted meaning. In the Pali texts we notice a type of protective Mantras known as the *parittas*; it was believed that the mutterings of these *parittas* were sufficient safeguard against some particular evil. There was again the belief in the power of the solemn utterance of a truth, *sacca-vacana*; it was believed that even diseases and physical calamities could be averted through the utterance of the *sacca-vacana*. “ Even the formulas of refuge and worship, which were current at all times and in all the countries of Theravada Buddhism, possess a mantric character. Their perfect parallelism of sound, rhythm, and idea, their concentration on the highest symbols, like Buddha, Dharma, Sangha, and their underlying devotional attitude, in which saddha (faith) and metta (love) occupy the first place, make them mantras in the best sense. That their formal expression is as important as their idea is emphasised by their threefold repetition and by the fact that some of these formulas are repeated twice three times with slightly different pronunciation within one and the same ceremony (be it Pūjā, paritta, upasampadā, paṭimokkha recitals or at similar occasions) in order to be sure of the proper form, the proper reproduction of the sound symbol, which is, sanctified by tradition and therefore charged with magic (psychic) power”.¹ Some sort of worship of the Buddha and various forms of showing devotion to the *Stūpa*, along with the strict observance of discipline, practice of merits and meditation, formed a part of the early Buddhist religion and these ceremonies were accompanied by chanting of formulas or verses which soon acquired the character of Mantras. Further we know of the use of postures and gestures in early Buddhism which were resorted to as accessories for the purpose of gaining concentration in meditation. Again we hear of the *Bodhi-maṇḍala* or the circle round the famous tree beneath which Buddha per-

¹ An article on Mantra by Lama Angarika Govinda in the *Stepping Stones*, Vol. II, No. 1 (published from Kalimpong).

formed all his meditations and attained *bodhi*; this belief in the *Bodhi-maṇḍala* led to a general belief in the efficacy of drawing circles and other diagrams in a place selected for performing religious duties.

Thus we see that Mantra, Mudrā (postures and gestures) and Maṇḍala were accepted in their esoteric significance and resorted to even in early Buddhism. But yet it has to be noticed that they were not of any primary importance; sound, circle, gesture and posture were all resorted to, as the James-Lang theory of psychology will support, to create suitable mental conditions for devotion and meditation. But with the rise and development of Mahāyāna with its idea of *Trailokya-vijaya*, or the religious conquest of the three worlds, Buddhism had to accommodate within its province people of more heterogeneous calibre, taste and temperament, with whom the accessories began to acquire the character of dogmas and article of faith—and exclusive value in the religious efforts.

The innumerable Dhāraṇīs seem to be an early form in which the Mantra element began to be used extensively in Mahāyāna. The word Dhāraṇī literally means that by which something is sustained or kept up (*dhāryate anayā iti*), i.e., the mystic syllables that have got the capacity of keeping up the religious life of a man. In the evolution of some of the Mantras in the Dhāraṇīs there seems to be some sort of a history. It seems that the ordinary followers of Buddhism could not follow the original aphorism of Buddhism; for them it was necessary to shorten the *sūtras* into the Dhāraṇīs and the ordinary followers were enjoined to commit to memory and regularly recite these Dhāraṇīs with implicit faith, and it was assured by the Bodhisattvas that the recital of these Dhāraṇīs was capable of producing infinite merit in the reciters and of conferring immense benefit on them. Dr. B. Bhattacharya has traced some sort of a history of the *bīja-mantra pram* which symbolises *Prajñā-pāramitā*. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā*, a Mahāyāna work of stupendous volume, could hardly be expected to be read and mastered by any ordinary follower; it was therefore

absolutely necessary to abridge it into a few stanzas, which became known as the *Prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*, which again was further reduced to the *Prajñā-pāramitā-dhāraṇī*. From this *Prajñā-pāramitā-dhāraṇī* again evolved the *Prajñā-pāramitā-mantra*, from which again evolved the *bīja-mantra* in one syllable as *praṁ*, and it was believed that in response to the muttering of this *bīja-mantra praṁ śūnyatā* would transform herself into the goddess *Prajñā-pāramitā*, who is a 'veritable metamorphosis of the *Prajñā-pāramitā* literature.'¹ These *bīja-mantras* are mono-syllabic Mantras symbolising some particular god or goddess. Thus 'a' represents *Vairocana*, 'ya' *Aksobhya*, 'ra' *Ratnasambhava*, 'ba' *Amitābha* and 'la' *Amoghasiddhi*, 'Hum' is the *bīja* of *Vajra-sattva*.² The vowel 'a' being the first and the most independent sound, has been taken to represent *Śūnyatā* or *Prajñā*.³

This system of *bīja-mantra* is very common in the Hindu Tantras also, and they are still prevalent in all the Hindu systems including Śāktaism, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, etc. It has often been assured in the Buddhist Tantras that in response to the muttering of these *bīja-mantras* the ultimate void (*śūnyatā*) will transform herself into the particular form of god or goddess and confer infinite benefit on the reciter. The same belief is found in the Hindu Tantras.⁴ In the *Mahāsukha-prakāśa* of the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha* it has been said that the *bīja* proceeds from the *śūnyatā*-knowledge, and from the *bīja* proceeds the reflection or the form (of particular gods and goddesses).⁵ This

¹ Vide *An Introduction to Esoteric Buddhism*, by B. Bhattacharya, p. 56.

² About the allotment of the *bījas* to the different gods and goddesses there is no strict agreement among the Tantras. Thus in the *Pañca-krama* we find that 'om' is the *bīja* of *Vairocana*, 'āḥ' of *Amitābha*, 'hum' of *Aksobhya*, 'svā' of *Ratnanātha* and 'hā' of *Karmanātha*. [MS. B.N. Sans. Nos. 65, 66, p. 4(B)].

³ In the *Mantra-paṭala* of the *Hevajra-tantra* we find that the *bīja-mantra* of the *Tathāgata* is *om āḥ hum phaṭ svāhā*; that of the goddesses *kṛm am jīm khaṁ hum*,—and that of *Heruka* is *taṁ maṁ paṁ taṁ baṁ om deva pīṇavajre hum hum hum phaṭ svāhā*. MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 11317) p. 5(A).

⁴ Vide *Tantrā-loka*, also *Vijñāna-bhairava* (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies).

⁵ *śūnyatā-bodhito bījaṁ bījād bimbam praṇīyate |*

Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha, p. 50 (G.O.S.).

kind of belief in a syllable representing a god or goddess is a very old belief current from the time of the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads. In the Upaniṣads we often find that Brahman is to be meditated in the form of the syllable ' om ' ; this ' om ' is taken to be the representative of the Brahman. Even Patañjali in his Yoga philosophy accepts the *praṇava* (i.e., ' om ') to be the representative of Īśvara.

It must, however, be admitted that of these Mantras (which are many in kinds, such as *Bīja*, *Hṛdaya*, *Upa-hṛdaya*, *Rakṣā*, etc.) only very few can be historically traced back to some significant origin like the *bīja-mantra pram*. A noticeable thing in this Mantra element is the infusion of some particular significance into some sound or syllable, which now seems to us to be purely arbitrary; and often purely Sanskritic words have also been explained in that technical way. Thus, in the *Manual of a Mystic* we find,—“ In the word Araham the first letter ' A ' means the Treasure of the Law (Dharma); the second ' Ra ' the Treasure who is the Buddha and the third ' Han ' the Treasure of the brotherhood (Saṅgha).” In the *Hevajra-tantra* Śrī-Heruka has been explained in the following manner,—‘ Śrī ’ means the non-dual knowledge, ‘ he ’ means the non-causality, ‘ ru ’ means the nature as uncompounded and ‘ ka ’ means ‘ not abiding anywhere ’. In the *Śrī-cakra-sambhāra-tantra* we find,—“ Let him imagine in the centre of his own heart the letter ‘ A ’ evolved from the experience which knows that forms are unreal. Or let him think of the clear lunar disc which symbolises world experience, and upon that Mantra ‘ Hum ’ which symbolises mind devoid of objective content. Of this ‘ Hum ’ the letter ‘ u ’ stands for the knowledge which accomplishes all works; the body of the letter ‘ H ’ for that knowledge which distinguishes, the top of the letter ‘ H ’

1 *Manual of a Mystic* (being the translation from the Pāli and Sinhalese work entitled the *Yogavachara's Manual*) by F. L. Woodward, M.A. (Cantab.), p. 2.

2 *īś-kāram advayaṁ jñānaṁ he-kāram hetuśūnyatā |*
ru-kārā-pagatam byūham kakāre na kvacit sthitam ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*. MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 11317) p. 19(A).

for the equalising knowledge, the crescent (*candra*) for the mirror-like knowledge; and the ' Bindu ' above that for the changeless knowledge. ' ' This kind of interpretation of the Mantras is frequently met with in the Tantra literature in general. ²

On the whole it seems that most of the Mantras and Dhāraṇīs are composed of a string of syllables which have lost their etymological meaning or which had never an etymological meaning. Vasubandhu says in his *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* that this absolute meaninglessness is the real significance of the Mantras. A Sādhaka is to meditate on these Mantras as something absolutely meaningless and this constant meditation on the meaninglessness of the Mantras will gradually lead to a state of mind where it will be very easy for him to meditate on the ultimate nature of the *dharma*s as absolutely meaningless; this meaninglessness is the void nature of the *dharma*s and thus the meditation on the Mantras will gradually lead a Sādhaka to the realisation of the void nature of the *dharma*s. ³

Thus according to Vasubandhu in this absolute unmeaningness of the Mantra lies its real power which helps the Sādhaka in realising the nature of the universe as absolute void. The Mantras are thus taken only as a help for the realisation of the absolute void-nature of the universe. So in the hands of Vasubandhu the Mantras obtain a deeper significance than the mere invocation of any particular god

¹ *Śrī-cakra-sambhāra-tantra*, translated from Tibetan by Kazi Dawasamdup, pp. 5-6.

² *akāras tala-cakras tho vārāhi sā vidhigate |*
rephas tataḥ samudbhūto yā rekhā bahnī-rūpiṇī ||
akāro vāradhūtīti sarva-dharma-sukhaṃ hi sā |
rekhā bahnimayī rekhā tadvastamāno carita (sati) (?) ||
atrāpyakāro draṣṭavyaḥ prabhāsvara-sukhākṛti |
deṇḍayoh samyogato ceti madhya-varṇo yato bharet ||
hakāraḥ sukha-cakras tho lekha-yālīṅgitam (?) tayā |
tataḥ samplāyayan deśm ikāro bindurucyate ||
tasmāt tu lokottarā kvacit lokottara-sukha-pradā |
lakṣya-lakṣaṇa-vibhavā seyam ikāra-rūpiṇī ||
etāṃ sapṭākṣarīm deśis trailokya-jñāna-suddhataḥ | etc.

—*Marmakalikā-tantra*, MS. (B.N. Sans. No. 83) pp. 2(B)—3(A).

³ Vide *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, ed. by Unari Wogihara (Tokyo), pp. 272-74. See also *Obscure Religious Cults*, etc., by the present author, pp. 21-22.

or goddess who might confer mundane benefit on us or fulfil some of our selfish desires.

Besides these unmeaning mystic syllables we find in later Buddhist Tantras that the letters (including all the vowels and the consonants) were transformed into Mantras. In this matter the Buddhist Tantras agree fully with the Hindu Tantras. It is a general custom with the Tantras to place these Mantras in the form of the letters in different parts of the body for the purification of the body, and there are often elaborate systems of the arrangement of the letters on the different plexus (*cakras*) situated within the body along the spinal chord.¹ The two sets of letters, viz., *ālī* (the vowels beginning with the vowel 'a') and *kālī* (the consonants beginning with the letter 'ka') are often spoken of variously in both the Hindu and Buddhist Tantric practices. It is therefore necessary here to say a few explanatory words about these Mantras as letters (*varṇa*).

In this transformation of the letters into the Mantras, as Prof. S. N. Dasgupta explains in an article,² the Tantras seem to have adopted the Mīmāṃsā theory of *śabda* or sound. The Mīmāṃsakas hold that sound is eternal and is always in the form of the letters of the alphabet, and a word is also nothing more than the letters that compose it. The meaning of a word is absolutely independent of any human agency and belongs to the word by virtue of its very nature and some peculiar power is required for the realisation of this inherent meaning. The words themselves are also eternal, but they require the auxiliary agency of pronunciation to be cognisable to our consciousness. The Tantras accept this view of the eternal nature of the *śabdā*s and further hold that "the movement that producēd the world shows itself, or, is

¹ Vide *Vajra-jāpa-krama* of the *Pañca-krama*.—MS. (B.N. Sans. No. 65) pp. 4(B)—5(A).

Also, *Heruka-tantra*, *Bodhicitta-saṅkramaṇa-paṭala*.—MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 11279) pp. 74(A)—75(B).

² *General Introduction to Tantra Philosophy*, by Prof. S. N. Dasgupta, collected in his *Philosophical Essays*.

represented in us in miniature, in the production of the sound. The process of the production of the sound is the epitome of the notion, as it were, of the cosmic process of creation. " This creative power, which is viewed as the mother of the universe in its aspect as identified with the *varṇas* is called the *mātrkā*. Now *śabda* being of the nature of *varṇa*, the fifty *varṇas* from 'a' to 'h' are taken to be the totality of the presiding force over the *śabda*. The different *varṇas* therefore represent the different functions of the *mātrkā*s and these *mātrkā*s being parts of the creative forces are associated with particular conative, cognitive and emotional tendencies and are also naturally connected with corresponding physiological centres, which form the physiological data of these psychological functions. This seems to be the metaphysical ground on which this Mantra theory as the *varṇas* is based. In the *Śrī-samputikā* we find that whatever word proceeds from the mouth of man should be regarded as a Mantra, the sound (*nāda*) is the Mantra. ¹ In the *Vyakta-bhāvānugata-tattva-siddhi* it has been said that whatever pure movements of the limbs proceed forth from the Bodhicitta, which is Sahaja, should all be conceived of as the Mudrās, and whatever words proceed from it are all Mantras. ²

Closely associated with this Mantra element of esoteric Buddhism is the Mudrā element which is generally taken to be signs made by the particular position of the hands and the fingers. ³ This Mudrā element, however, with the

¹ *yah kaścit prasaro vācām janānām pratipadyate |*
sa sarvo mantra-rūpo hi tasmād eva prajāyate ||
nādo hi mantra ity uktam sarveṣām tu śarīrīṇām | etc.

—*Śrī-samputikā*. MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 4854) p. 9(B).

² *svabhāva-śuddha-bodhicittāt ye khalu sahaja-vinirmīṭā-ṅga-vikṣepās te*
sarve eva mudrā-kārāḥ | ye'pi vāg-vikṣepās te'pi mantra-prakārāḥ |—*Vyakta-*
bhāvānugata-tattva-siddhi. MS. (C.L.B. No. 13124) p. 90(A).

Cf. also the Bengali song of Sādhaka Rāmprasād:

yata śuna karṇa-puṭe, sakali mār mantra baṭe,
kālī pañcāśat-varṇamayī varṇe varṇe nāma dhare ||

"Whatever you hear with your ears are but the Mantras of the Mother; Mother Kālī is of the nature of these fifty letters, and she has her name in every letter."

³ This Mudrā should be carefully distinguished from the Mudrā or the Mahāmudrā who is the Prajñā or the great woman to be adopted in the Yogic practice.

Mantra and some other esoteric practices has a deeper significance in the yogic Sādhana of the Tāntrikas, and as the Mantra element contains all the secrecy of the potency of sound, the Mudrā element contains the secrecy of touch as associated with the potency of the physiological system. With Mantra and Mudrā the element of Maṇḍala or describing the mystic circles was also introduced. Though this Mudrā element with the Mantra element and some other esoteric practices may be traced back to the later Vedic practices, we have reason to think that in the evolution of Mudrā in esoteric Buddhism the different postures of the hands and fingers of Śākyamuni have something to do, and some of these postures do allude to some of the incidents of his life. In the University library of Cambridge there is a manuscript with the colophon *śrīmac-chākyarāja-sarva-durgati-pariśodhana-mukhākhyāna-prathama-ādiyoga-nāma-samādhiḥ* with as many as one hundred and fifty-eight coloured illustrations of the different kinds of Mudrās. Of these some seem to be purely the posture of the hands and fingers; some on the other hand illustrate the different manners of holding the thunderbolt (*vajra*), the lotus (*padma*), the bell (*ghaṇṭā*), the sword, the conch-shell (*śaṅkha*), bunch of flowers, garlands, etc. Others again illustrate the manner of offering flowers, water, incense, lamp and other materials of worship. Some again illustrate the different manners of playing on the different musical instruments. All these are done with the aim of obtaining final purification and final deliverance from the miseries of life.

Once the portals of Buddhism were flung open to let in some elements of Tāntricism in the form of the Dhāraṇī, Mantra, Mudrā, etc., all the traditional beliefs in Magic and charms and sorceries with all their details rushed in and quickly changed the whole ethico-religious outlook of Buddhism; and with the forms and traditions of Buddhism and the materials of Tāntricism grew up the elaborate Tāntric Buddhist systems.

(ii) *Vajra-yāna—The Most Common Name*

Once this esoterism could find admission into the Buddhist fold all sorts of popular beliefs and practices began vigorously to be incorporated in it. The six kinds of Tāntric rituals intended for the good or evil of anybody (generally known as *abhicāra*) gradually made their way in it, and the five accessories of Tāntric practices, generally known as the five 'M's' (*pañca-makāras*) also found place in Buddhist esoterism.¹ But the aim of these practices is not always the fulfilment of some or other mundane desire (though instances of them are not altogether wanting), but these practices with their minutest details are said to be undertaken only for the attainment of the Bodhicitta, *i.e.*, for the realisation of perfect knowledge and for the uplift of all beings.

This composite system of Tāntricism came to be known by the general name of Vajra-yāna² and from Vajra-yāna developed the Sahaja-yāna at a still later time.³

¹ We do not find any direct mention of these *pañca-makāras* in the Buddhist Tantras; but we find sporadic mention of wine, fish and meat, etc., but more often we find mention of the *pañca-kāma-guṇas*, and it is often said that a Sādhaka placed in the *Prajñā-pāya* can, without hesitation, enjoy the five objects of enjoyment for the attainment of perfection.

² The original name Mantra-yāna is also sometimes used in a general sense for the later Buddhist Tāntric Schools. *E.g.*, *mantra-mahāyāne tv anuvakṣyate*, etc.—*Hevajra-pañjikā*, MS. p. 45(B).

Also: *mantra-yānā-nusāreṇa tad idaṁ vakṣyate'dhunā |*

—*Adeaya-vajra-saṁgraha*, p. 54.

Also: Comm. on the *Dohakoṣa* of *Kāṇhapāda*, Verse No. 12.—Dr. P. C. Bagchi's edition.

³ Kazi Dawasamdub in his introduction to the *Śrī-cakra-sambhāra-tantra* divides this Vajra-yāna into six sects. He says,—“The development or ‘fruit’ of the first three (*i.e.*, Śrāvaka-yāna, Pratyeka-buddha-yāna and Bodhisattva-yāna) is the Vajra-yāna and Mantra-yāna which is divided into six parts or states; (4) Kriyā-tantra-yāna (Byavhi-rGyud-kyi-thegpa); (5) Caryā or Upāya-tantra-yāna (Spyod-pahi-rGyud-kyi-thegpa); (6) Yoga-tantra-yāna (rNal-hbyor-rg). The latter is again subdivided into three; (7) Mahāyoga-tantra-yāna (Maha-yoga or Ma-rGyud-kyi-thegpa); (8) Anuttara-yoga-tantra-yāna (Anuyoga or (?) Blamed-rGyud-kyi-thegpa); and (9) Ati-yoga-tantra-yāna (Ati-yoga hi-theg-pa).” From what source Kazi Dawasamdub described these subdivisions we do not know; the general practice, however, is to divide Vajra-yāna into four classes, *viz.*, Kriyā-tantra, Caryā-tantra, Yoga-tantra and Anuttara-tantra. Mr. Waddell describes

(A) KĀLACAKRA-YĀNA, NĀTHISM, ETC.

The Buddhist Tantras are generally divided into three schools, *viz.*, Vajra-yāna, Kāla-cakra-yāna and Sahaja-yāna. We do not know on the authority of what texts this division of schools have been made. Of course, these names are often met with in the Tāntric texts, but the characteristics of the schools have never been sufficiently explained. Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasāda Śāstrī in his introduction to *Modern Buddhism and its Followers in Orissa* of N. N. Basu, speaks of Nāthism as another school of Tāntric Buddhism in addition to the three already mentioned above. This view of MM. Śāstrī seems to be based on a popular misconception.¹ The name of Kāla-cakra-yāna also appears to be perplexing. About it Waddell says in his *Lamaism*,—“In the tenth century A.D., the Tāntrik phase developed in Northern India, Kashmir, and Nepal, into the monstrous and poly-demonist doctrine, the Kāla-cakra, with its demoniacal Buddhas, which incorporated the Mantra-yāna practices, and called itself the Vajra-yāna or the ‘Thunder-

the first two divisions as the ‘Lower Tantra’ and the last two as the ‘Upper Tantra’. (*Lamaism*, p. 152). The Kriyā-tantras and Caryā-tantras are concerned with the rituals, ceremonies, worship of gods and goddesses and other practices; but the Yoga-tantra and the Anuttara-tantra are much higher types of Tantras containing the Yogic processes for the realisation of the ultimate truth and a discussion on the nature of the ultimate truth. As a matter of fact, if we go through the Buddhist Tāntric texts, we shall find that some of the texts contain nothing but the detailed description of the gods and goddesses and elaborate systems of worship and chantings—without having any element of yoga or philosophy in them. It is for this reason that to study the essentials of the Buddhist Tantras we should concentrate our attention more on the Yoga-tantras and the Anuttara-tantras and our study is generally based on them. But the fact is that it is often very difficult to arrange the Buddhist Tantras under the heading of these four classes,—for many of the Tantras contain a mixture of the different elements.

The doctrines of the Kriyā-tantras and the Caryā-tantras were meant for the beginners for whom mere rituals and practices were prescribed; but the Yoga-tantra and the Anuttara-yoga-tantra are meant for the advanced Sādhakas who would attain perfection (*siddhi*) through processes of Yoga. Prof. La Vallée Poussin has compared these divisions of the Buddhist Tantras with the arrangement of the Vaiṣṇava-tantras (found in the *Padma-tantra*) as the (1) Jñāna-pāda, (2) Yoga-pāda, (3) Kriyā-pāda and (4) Caryā-pāda (*J.R.A.S.*, 1901, p. 900).

¹ See *Obscure Religious Cults As Background of Bengali Literature* by the present writer.

bolt-Vehicle', and its followers were named Vajrā-cārya or 'followers of the Thunderbolt'.¹ In another place he says,—“The extreme development of the Tāntrik phase was reached with the Kāla-cakra, which, although unworthy of being considered as a philosophy, must be referred to here as a doctrinal basis. It is merely a coarse Tāntrik development of the Ādi-Buddha theory combined with the puerile mysticism of the Mantra-yāna, and it attempts to explain creation and the secret powers of nature, by the union of the terrible Kālī, not only with the Dhyānī Buddhas, but even with Ādi-Buddha himself. In this way Ādi-Buddha, by meditation evolves a procreative energy by which the awful Sambharā and other dreadful Dākinī fiendesses, all of the Kālī-type, obtain spouses as fearful as themselves, yet spouses who are regarded as reflexes of Ādi-Buddha and the Dhyānī Buddhas. And these demoniacal 'Buddhas', under the name of Kāla-cakra, Heruka, Achala, Vajra-bhairava, etc., are credited with powers not inferior to those of the celestial Buddhas themselves, and withal ferocious and blood thirsty; and only to be conciliated by constant worship of themselves and their female energies, with offerings and sacrifices, magic circles, special mantra-charms, etc.”²

From what is said here about the Kāla-cakra-yāna it seems that it is also a phase of Vajra-yāna with a predominance of the terrible gods and goddesses whom Waddell has styled as the 'demoniacal Buddhas'. But we do not understand the relation of this terrible aspect of Tāntric Buddhism with the name Kāla-cakra given to it. The word Kāla-cakra means the wheel of time. Its Tibetan synonym “‘Dus-Kyi-’ K'or-lo” also means the circle of time. MM. H. P. Śāstrī explains the word in the following way :—“What is Kāla-cakra-yāna? The word Kāla means time, death and destruction. Kāla-cakra is the wheel of destruction, and Kāla-cakra-yāna means the vehicle for protection against the wheel of destruction.”³

¹ *Lamaism*, by Waddell, p. 15.

² *Ibid.*, p. 181.

³ *Modern Buddhism*, etc. Intro., p. 8.

We have at our disposal a text of the title of *Śrī-kāla-cakra-tantra*.¹ As far as our knowledge of the Buddhist Tāntric texts goes, we have not found any other text belonging to this Kāla-cakra class. A study of the text does not confirm the statement that Kāla-cakra-yāna is that school of Tāntric Buddhism which introduced the demoniacal Buddhas in its province,—at least it is not the main characteristic through which the school should be recognised. In the beginning of the text we find that King Sucandra approached the Omniscient Lord Buddha with salutation and asked of him the yoga of the *Śrī-kāla-cakra* which is the way to salvation of all people of the Kali age.² Then the Lord replied that this secret of yoga is unknown to all, it is a system of Yoga which, with all its accessories of Maṇḍala (magic circle) and consecration (*abhiṣeka*), is explained within this very body, and the Lord then explained how all the universe with all its objects and localities are situated in the body and how time with all its varieties (*viz.*, day, night, fortnight, month, year, etc.) are within the body in its processes of the vital wind (*prāṇa-vāyu*).³ In the body of the text Sahaja has been fully explained and the details of the sexo-yogic practices for the attainment of the Sahaja have also been described. The only thing that strikes the reader is the stress given to the control of the vital winds (*Prāṇa* and *Apāna*) and to the results attained therefrom; we find detailed discussions of how even the different diseases are to be cured by the control of this *Prāṇa* and *Apāna*. This theory of *Kāla-cakra* has very soundly been discussed in the sixth chapter of the *Tantrā-loka* of Abhinava-gupta and a perusal of the text will convince the reader that the explanation of *Kāla-cakra* as given in the *Śrī-kāla-cakra-tantra* is just the same as described in the *Tantrā-loka*. The whole chapter of the *Tantrā-loka* is

¹ Preserved in the Cambridge University Library (Cambridge MS. Add. No. 1364).

² MS. (Cambridge Add. No. 1364) p. 1(B).

³ *dehamadhye samastam yogam vydkhyāyamānam śṛṇuṣva narapate maṇḍalam cā'bhīṣekam* ||—*Ibid.*, p. 1(B).

devoted to the exposition of the doctrine of Kāla (time) and the process of keeping oneself above the influence of the whirl of time. Here also time (*kāla*) in all its phases (day, night, fortnight, month, year, etc.) has been explained with reference to the functions of the vital wind (*prāṇa* and *apāna*) spread through the whole nervous system, and the process of controlling time is to control the vital wind in the nerves through yogic practices.

The nature of Lord Śrī-kāla-cakra becomes clear from the *Laghu-kāla-cakra-tantra-rāja-ṭīkā*, entitled the *Vimala-prabhā*. Here he is saluted as of the nature of Śūnyatā and Karuṇā; in him there is the absence of the origination and destruction of the three worlds, he is a unification of the knowledge and the knowable; goddess Prajñā, who is both with form and without form, is embraced by him; he is bereft of origination and change,—he is immutable bliss bereft of all lower pleasure; he is the father of the Buddhas, possessing the three Kāyas, the knower of the three times (*i.e.*, the past, present and future), the Omniscient,—the ultimate and original Buddha—the non-dual Lord. By an examination of these descriptions of the Śrī-kāla-cakra it will be found that there is no difference between the conception of this Lord Śrī-kāla-cakra and the Lord Vajra-sattva described hereafter. Again the aim of the *Kāla-cakra-tantra* as professed here is no mundane benefit; on the other hand, like all other Buddhist Tantras it also professes the attainment of perfect enlightenment, not only for the self but for all the beings, to be the final aim.

That the conception of Kāla-cakra is substantially the same as the conception of Vajra-sattva and that Kāla-cakra-yāna is not a distinct school of Tāntric Buddhism, but a particular name for the Vajra-yāna school, will be clear also from the text *Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā*,¹ which is a commentary on the *Sekoddeśa* section of the *Kāla-cakra-tantra*. There it is said that the ultimate immutable and unchangeable one, remaining in the skylike *dharmadhātu* (the element underlying all

¹ G.O.S., ed. by Mario E. Carelli, Dr. Litt.

the *dharma*s) is called *Kāla*; it itself is the immutable knowledge. *Cakra* implies the unity of the three kinds of existence—the manifestation of *Kāla*. It (the *Cakra*) is the body of the Lord—point-like, containing the potency of the existence of the universe. *Kāla-cakra*, therefore, implies exactly the same as the unity of *Prajñā* and *Upāya*.¹

Every syllable of the word *Kāla-cakra* is said to be pregnant with a meaning. Thus, the syllable 'kā' indicates unruffled causality in which there should be the final absorption as is indicated by the syllable 'la'; 'ca' indicates the unsteady mind, and 'kra' means the series of event or the process.² *Kāla*, therefore, means the state of absorption in the original cause-potency, this is the state of *Sūnyatā*; it is the pure consciousness or the principle of subjectivity. *Cakra* on the other hand means the principle of knowability, or the cycle of the world-process (*jñeyā-kāraṁ jagat-cakraṁ jñeyam traidhātukam ananta-bhāva-lakṣaṇam cakram*), which is also the principle of *Upāya*. *Kāla-cakra*, therefore, means the absolutely unified principle of *Prajñā* and *Upāya*.³ We shall presently see that the conception of the Lord Vajra-sattva, the Godhead of Tāntric Buddhism, is also exactly the same. Sometimes we find in the *Kāla-cakra-tantra* salutation to Lord Śrī-kāla-cakra in the very manner in which Lord Vajra-sattva, the Lord Supreme, is saluted in most of the Buddhist Tantras.⁴

¹ *Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā*, p. 3.

Cf. also: *karuṇā-sūnyatā-mūrtiḥ kālaḥ samvṛti-rūpiṇī |*
sūnyatā-cakram ity uktam kāla-cakro'deayo'kṣarah ||

—*Ibid.*, p. 8.

² *kākārāt kāraṇe sūnte lakārāl layo'tra vai |*

cakārāc cala-cittasya krakārāt krama-bandhanaiḥ (—naṁ ?) ||

—*Ibid.*, p. 8.

³ As for the unification of *Prajñā* and *Upāya* see *infra*.

⁴ *namas te kāla-cakrāya saraṇa-varaṇa-hānaye |*

paramā-kṣara-sukhā-purṇa jñāna-kāya namo'(a sic.) stu te ||

sūnyatā-karuṇā-bhinnaṁ bodhi-cittaṁ yad akṣaram |

tena sekena me nātha prasādam kuru sāmpratam || etc.

—*Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā*, p. 24.

namah śrī-kāla-cakrāya sūnyatā-karuṇā-tmane |

tri-bhavo-tpattī-kṣaya-bhāvo jñāna-jñeyāṅka-mūrtaye ||

sākārā ca nirākṛtīr bhagavatī prajñā tayā'liṅgitā |

utpāda-vyaya-varjito' kṣara-sukho hāsyā-di-saukhye jñhitā ||

This Kāla-cakra is the Bodhicitta ; he is the ultimate immutable substance in the form of motionless supreme bliss (*acintya-mahāsukha*).¹

(The *Sahajiyā* school is an offshoot of Vajra-yāna. There is no exclusive literature belonging to Sahaja-yāna,—on the other hand, the Sahajiyā poets of the Dohās and songs recognise the well-known texts of Vajra-yāna as their authority. The exponents of the Sahajiyā school put the whole emphasis on their protest against the formalities of life and religion. Truth is something which can never be found through mere austere practices of discipline, neither can it be realised through much reading and philosophising, or through fasting, bathing, constructing images and worshipping gods and goddesses and the innumerable other paraphernalia of rites and rituals prescribed in Vajra-yāna; it is to be intuited within in the most unconventional way through the initiation in the *Tattva* and the practice of yoga. This makes the position of the Sahajiyās distinct from that of the Vajra-yānists in general.

The name Sahaja-yāna seems to be doubly significant; it is Sahaja-yāna because, its aim is to realise the ultimate innate nature (*sahaja*) of the self as well as of the *dharma*s, and it is Sahaja-yāna also because of the fact that instead of suppressing and thereby inflicting undue strain on the human nature it makes man realise the truth in the most natural way, *i.e.*, by adopting the path through which the human nature itself leads him. What is natural is the easiest ; and thus Sahaja, from its primary meaning of being natural acquires the secondary meaning of being easy, straight or plain.) As the Sahajiyā school has been studied by the present writer in a comprehensive way in another work, entitled *Obscure Religious Cults As Background Of Bengali*

*buddhānām janakas tri-kāya-sahitah traikātya-samvedakah |
sarejñāḥ paramā-dibuddho bhagavān vande tam evā'deṣyam ||*

—Beginning of the *Laghu-kāla-cakra-tantra-rāja-ṭīkā* (entitled *Vimala-prabhā*, MS., R.A.S.B. No. 4727).

As for the salutations to Lord Vajra-sattva see *infra*, Ch. IV.

¹ *Śekoddeśa-ṭīkā*, p. 3, also, p. 8.

Literature, he does not propose to deal with it into further detail here.)

(B) GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF VAJRA-YANA

Vajra-yāna or the 'Adamantine way' is really the way or means for the realisation of the Vajra-nature or the immutable and impenetrable void-nature of the self as well as of the *dharmas*.¹ But the scope and characteristics of Vajra-yāna have not been satisfactorily explained in any of the Tāntric texts. The *Śrī-samāja*, which is credited by some to be the earliest authoritative text on Vajra-yāna, explains Vajra-yāna as the means which has recourse to the five families (*kulas*) of the Bodhisattvas, viz., *Moha* (presided over by Vairocana with his Śakti Vajradhātuvīśvarī), *Dveṣa* (presided over by Akṣobhya with his Śakti Locanā), *Rāga* (presided over by Amitābha with his Śakti Pāṇḍarā), etc.; but these *kulas* have always their foundation on the *Vajra* or the *śūnyatā*.² Thus, according to the *Śrī-samāja*, the school that grew with the system of the five families, the *Kulas*, of the Bodhisattvas is the Vajra-yāna school. In the *Sādhana-mālā* we find some characteristics of Vajra-yāna explained in connection with the *Sādhana* of Vajra-tārā. Here the Sādhaka takes the resolution before the *Cakra* of the goddess that he will remove all the evils (*pāpa*) in him—will hold in high regard all the merits (*kuśala*) of all the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, *Āryas* (the reverend) and of all the *Prthag-jānas* (ordinary men)—will develop all his merits which will lead him to transcendental (*anuttara*) perfect enlightenment (*sambodhi*); he will take refuge in Buddha, the supreme one of all men,—to *Dharma* including the whole Mahāyāna, to the *Saṅgha*,—the assembly of the immutable Bodhisattvas; he will attain transcendental perfect enlightenment for all the beings—for their good,—for their happiness,

¹ Vide *infra*, Ch. IV.

² *moho dveṣas tathā rāgaḥ sadā vajre ratih sthitā |
upāyas tena buddhānāṃ vajra-yānam iti smṛtam ||*

—*Śrī-guhyasamāja-tantra*, p. 154.

—for establishing them in the element of *nirvāṇa* and in the wisdom of the Buddhas,—and for all these he is going to adopt the path of transcendental perfect enlightenment,—and that path is the Vajra-yāna.¹ In another place also, the attainment of Bodhi through all the seemingly unmeaning practices, rites, ceremonies, mantras and meditation is professed to be the aim of Vajra-yāna.² In the *Jñāna-siddhi* of Indrabhūti it has been said that the Vajra-yāna has been explained in innumerable *yoga-tantras*, those fools who do not know of it whirl in the sea of existence.³ Vajra-yāna is compared to the raft by which one is to cross the ocean of existence, which is full of the snares of false subjectivity.⁴ In the *Guhyasiddhi* of Padmavajra Vajra-yāna is characterised as the transcendental path which is the unity of all the religions, the doctrines of Vajra-yāna are the most secret;—it is a religion of non-substantiality and purity,—it has got no parallel.⁵

porated within it so many heterogeneous elements and of which suggests any correct definition of Vajra-yāna.

But all these are mere cursory descriptions none In fact, Vajra-yāna cannot be defined; for it incorporates that any attempt at strict definition must be futile. We occasionally find in it all the six Tāntric practices technically known as *abhicāra*, viz., *mārana* (i.e., killing), *mohana* (enchanting), *stambhana* (paralysing), *vidveṣaṇa* (rendering harm through animosity), *uccāṭana* (removing or driving away) and *vaśī-karaṇa* (subduing), carried on with the purpose of fulfilling the selfish desires. Again, there are

¹ *eko'ham anuttara-samyak-sambodhi-mārgam āśrayāmi yad uta vajra jñanam* |—*Sādhana-mālā*, Vol. I, p. 225.

² *Sādhana-mālā*, Vol. II, p. 421.

³ *Two Vajra-yāna Works*, p. 31 (G.O.S.).

⁴ *kalpa-ū-jāla-pūrṇasya saṃsārasya maho-dadheḥ |
vajra yānam samāruhya ko vā pārām gamiṣyati ||*

—*Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁵vajra-yānam anuttaram |
sarva-dharma-samekatvaṃ yat teyā bhāṣitam prabhu ||
oho guhyā-tiguhyasya vajra-yānasya deśanā |
niḥsvabhāvasya buddhasya vidyate yasya no'pamā ||

—*Guhya-siddhi*, MS. p. 6(A).

the elaborate methods of worshipping the gods and goddesses, making their images or paintings, chanting of the *gāthās* (verses) and the Mantras, the culture of the *pāramitās*, the application of the Mudrās, and drawing the mystic circles, the practices of Haṭha-yoga as well as of the contemplative yoga-system found in the canonical texts like the *Visuddhi-magga*, etc., and last but not the least, the sexo-yogic Tāntric practices.¹ We need not here enter into the detail of these heterogeneous practices, the mere enumeration and illustration of which are not likely to throw any light of any kind. Let us only notice here how these innumerable practices have been given a Buddhistic colouring.

In spite of this heterogeneity of elements the most striking feature of Vajra-yāna, which justifies the general name given to it, is the use and function of the idea of Vajra. Vajra, as we shall presently see, is the void (*śūnyatā*),—and in Vajra-yāna everything is Vajra—i.e., perfect void. In worshipping a god, the god is thought of as of the Vajra-nature, his image is Vajra,—the worshipper is Vajra, the materials of worship are Vajra, the mantras are Vajra,—the processes are Vajra and everything is Vajra. This Vajra, as we have already said, often serves as the stamp of the Vajra-yāna. In the *Kriyā-saṃgraha-nāma-pañjikā* the names of the goddesses are generally *Vajra-rūpiṇī*, *Vajra-bhāskarī*, *Vajra-humkarī*, *Vajra-vilāsinī*, *Vajra-mohinī*, *Vajra-khecarī*, *Vajrāsanī*, *Vajra-rasanī*, *Vajra-trāsanī*, *Vajra-*

¹ Often we find mention of the rules of strict discipline, the development of the *pāramitās*, but often the Vajra-yānists declare that there cannot be anything evil for the Vajra-yānist,—no work not to be done,—no food not to be taken, no woman not to be enjoyed. Often it is rather commended that a Vajra-yānist should steal the properties of others, always tell the lie, kill all the beings, eat everything, should enjoy all women, whatever relation she may be.

para-sva-haraṇaṃ kuryāt para-dāra-niṣevanam |
vaktavyaṃ ca mṛṣā-vākyaṃ sarva-buddhān ca ghātayet ||

gamyā-gamya-vikalpan tu bhakṣyā-bhokṣyaṇ tathāiva ca |
peyā-peyaṃ tathā mantrī kuryān naiva samāhitaḥ ||

—*Advaya-siddhi*, MS. (C.L.B. No. 13124) p. 36(A).

Cf. also *Śrīguhya-samāja-tantra*, p. 125, p. 98, p. 20, etc. (G.O.S.).

Kṛpā-yamāri-tantra, MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 9964) p. 20(B), quoted in the Catalogue of Sans.-Buddhist MSS. in R.A.S.B., Vol. I, p. 150,

sparśinī, *Vajra-cetanī*, *Vajra-virāsinī*, *Vajra-vikāśinī*, etc. It should also be noticed that the supreme goddess is also called *Vajreśvarī*, or *Vajra-dhātviśvarī* or *Vajra-vārāhī*. In the rites and worships we find mention of the articles incense, lamp, conch-shell, bell, perfumes, flowers, garlands, sisamum (*tila*), grains (*yaba*), seat (*āsana*), flag, jar, cloth, ornaments, fried paddy (*lāja*), unboiled rice (*akṣata*), offerings (*arghya* and *añjali*), the five preparations from cow-milk (*pañca-gavya*), the five sweets (*pañcā-mṛta*), etc., but all of them invariably bear the stamp of Vajra.² There is laughing (*hāsyā*), artistic gesture and movement (*lāsya*), music, dancing, playing on musical instruments—everything of which is Vajra. We need not multiply the instances. If we examine the *Kriyā-saṃgraha* we shall find nothing there which has not the determinant Vajra before it. Almost same is the case with the *Sādhana*s of the *Sādhana-mālā*. It was the peculiar idea of the Vajra-yānists that anything that bears the epithet *vajra* before it, necessarily leads one to the realisation of the void-nature of the self and the *dharma*s. We have seen that even the woman to be adopted for the yogic practices was called the *vajra-kanyā* or the 'thunder or, void girl', and so it is in the fitness of things that the vehicle (*yāna*) itself should be called the Vajra-yāna.

It is very interesting to note how in the popular practices and worship of gods, goddesses and even of ghosts and spirits the ideas of Mahāyāna Buddhism lie interspersed. Thus in the selection of the ground for a monastery, forty gods and goddesses are to be meditated on and worshipped in the four quarters. These are,—*Pramuditā*, *Vimalā*, *Prabhākarī*, *Arciṣmatī*, *Sudurjayā*, *Abhimukhī*, *Duraṅgamā*, *Acalā*, *Sādhumatī* and *Dharmamegha* (i.e., the ten *Bodhi-sattva-bhūmis*) in the east facing the west; then ten gods of the nature of the ten *pāramitās*, viz., *Dāna* (charity), *Sīla* (good-conduct), *Kṣānti* (forbearance), *Vīrya* (energy), *Dhyāna* (meditation), *Prajñā* (wisdom), *Upāya* (means),

¹ Ch. III. MS. pp. 20-21.

² Vide *Ibid.*, pp. 38-40, 49, etc.

Cf. also *Sādhana-mālā*, pp. 18-19, 321-22.

Prāṇidhi (concentration), *Bala* (strength) and *Jñāna* (knowledge) in the south; again ten in the west facing the east, viz., *Āyuh* (life), *Citta* (mind), *Parīṣkāra* (cleanliness), *Karma* (deed), *Upapatti* (birth), *Siddhi* (perfection), *Abhimukti* (that which is facing perfection), *Prāṇidhāna* (concentration), *Jñāna* (knowledge), and *Dharma-vaśitā* (control of the *dharma*s); and ten goddesses in the North facing the South of the nature of the ten *Dhāraṇīs*, viz., *Vasumatī*, *Ratnasthā*, *Uṣṇīṣa-vijayā*, *Māricī*, *Parṇa-śavarī*, *Anekamukhī*, *Jāṅgulī*, *Cundā* and *Prajñā-vardhinī*, *Sarva-buddha-kroṣatī*.¹ In the description of gods and goddesses we find that as they hold *Vajra* (thunder), *Khaḍga* (sword), *Pāśa* (noose), *Padma* (lotus), etc., so also they hold *Prajñā-pustaka* (the book of knowledge), *Bodhi-vṛkṣa* (the tree under which knowledge was obtained), etc. In connection with making the bricks for constructing the house it has been said that the brick must be thought of as a mass of nectar and then it should be sprinkled with the auspicious water of the jar and worshipped with the five presents (*pañco-pahāra*) and thus it should be purified; and then they should be meditated on as follows:—"This whole world is of the nature of the Tathāgatas; the Tathāgatas are of the nature of essencelessness—and therefore, the whole world is also of the nature of essencelessness." ²

In the *Sādhana*s of the *Kriyā-saṃgraha* in the form of worship and the muttering of various Mantras the fundamental aim of producing the Bodhicitta and of relieving the whole world is not lost sight of. Here also we find that through all the Mantras, Mudrā and Maṇḍala and all other rites and ceremonies the *Sādhaka* is bent on realising the nature of his *citta* as luminous by nature (*prakṛti-prabhāsvara*), as the immutable void (*vajra*); after the realisation of the self as the void, he identifies himself with all the

¹ *Kriyā-saṃgraha-nāma-pañjikā*.

—MS. pp. 6-7.

² *tathāgato yat-svabhāvas tat-svabhāvam idaṃ jagat |*
tathāgato niḥ-svabhāvo niḥ-svabhāvam idaṃ jagat ||

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 21₂

objects of the world and becomes one with all.¹ Even in constructing the image of a god, in installing it and worshipping it with all the elaborate paraphernalia the aim is professed to be the attainment of the Bodhicitta.

If we analyse the *Sādhana*s of the *Sādhana-mālā*, we shall see that the ideas of Buddhism are interspersed with polytheistic idolatry. Let us, for instance, examine the *Vajrā-sana-sādhana*m. Here, first, the Lord Supreme should be thought of with the five Tathāgatas, and then flowers are to be offered. Then the five Tathāgatas and their Śaktis are to be saluted and flowers, incense, lamp, and other offerings are to be presented to them. Then the Sādhaka is to meditate on the four *Brahma-vihāras*, e.g., universal friendship (*maitrī*), universal compassion (*karuṇā*), self-contentment (*muditā*) and absolute indifference (*upekṣā*). Then he should think in his heart the lunar disc transformed into the letter 'a' and on that the syllable 'hum' of the colour of gold and then think of the Guru, Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas emanating from the rays of that 'hum'. These Guru, Buddha and Bodhisattvas should then be worshipped; then follow the confession of sins and the acceptance of the merits; then follow the taking shelter to the three jewels, e.g., Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, and the adoption of the path followed by the Jinas (the self-conquered) and then the production of the Bodhicitta. Then follows the meditation on the void (*śūnyatā*), and then the realization of the nature of all the *dharma*s as essenceless and the realization of the self as luminous, of the form of the immutable Bodhicitta; for the stabilization of this state the following Mantra should be chanted,—“Naturally pure are all the *dharma*s, and by nature pure am I!” After this follow the other details of the *Sādhana*.² This in general

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-50.

² *Sādhana-mālā*, Vol. I (G.O.S.), pp. 18-19. In the *Khasarpapa-sādhana* we find that first of all Lord Khasarpapa should be saluted and worshipped; then the Sādhaka should confess his sin before the Lord and take the vow that he will follow the merits of the Buddhas, the son of the Buddhas (i.e., the Bodhisattvas), the reverend ones and others and develop them to perfect enlightenment; then as usual he takes refuge in the three jewels of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. Then

is the nature of many of the *Sādhana*s that are collected in the *Sādhana-mālā*. It is remarkable that many of the Mantras here are nothing but the well-known doctrines of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism with the addition of an 'om' or 'phaṭ' or 'svāhā', etc., with them. Another remarkable feature of these *Sādhana*s is the construction of the mental images of the lunar and the solar discs with the scheme of the colours and the various lotuses often with full decorations forming the canvas, as it were, for the objects of meditation; this seems to be significant from the yoga point of view.

he takes the resolution of producing the Bodhicitta for the well-being and deliverance of all, and adopts the path followed by the Sugatas and their followers. Then he should think of the world of static and dynamic as all void and place himself in the void with the Mantra, 'om I am of the nature of the immutable knowledge of the void.' Then he should realise that all the *dharma*s are pure by nature and he too is pure by nature and then he should read, 'Naturally pure are all the *dharma*s, pure am I by nature—amen!' Then the *Sādhaka* should realise himself as pure consciousness (*viññāna-mātrā-tmaka*) and then think of a lotus of the colour of the universe (*viśva-varṇa-kamala*) transformed as the syllable 'paṃ' and on that a clear lunar disc emanating from the letter 'a' and on that the syllable 'hrīḥ' which is radiating rays which cover the sky; and then see all these terms formed into a full-blown, variously decorated lotus with its seed within. Then the self should be meditated on as the transformation of all these and as the Lord himself; and then follows the list of the gods and goddesses with the detail of their descriptions and the order in which they should be meditated on by the either side of the Lord with their *bīja*s and Mantras, etc.

1. The most general Mantras, as we have already noticed, are:—

(i) *om śāṅyatā-jñāna-raja-svabhāva-tmako'ham* |

(ii) *om svabhāva-buddhāḥ sarva-dharmāḥ svabhāva-buddho'ham* |

In addition other Mantras like—

(i) *om sarva-tathāgatā-tmako'ham* |

(ii) *om dharma-dhātu-svabhāva-tmako'ham* | etc.

are also found.

CHAPTER IV

THE THEOLOGICAL POSITION OF THE TĀNTRIC BUDDHISTS

We have said in a previous chapter that the most important and the most interesting study in the Buddhist Tantras is that of the gradual transformation of Mahāyānic ideas into an esoteric theology and the association of the esoteric Yogic practices with them. We repeat here that it may not be a fact that the practices are there solely because of this theology; on the contrary, we are inclined to postulate great influence of these practices in evolving the doctrinal theology through the gradual transformation of the Mahāyānic ideas. Let us now have some idea about the transformation of some of the main Mahāyānic thoughts into Tāntric esoterism.

(1) *Vajra And Vajrasattva*

In the transformation of the ideology of Mahāyāna into Vajra-yāna the first thing to note is the transformation of the idea of Śūnyatā into the idea of Vajra. The word Vajra, commonly rendered as the thunderbolt, is taken here to connote the immutable adamant nature of the *dharma*s. It has been said,—“ Śūnyatā, which is firm, substantial, indivisible and impenetrable, incapable of being burnt and imperishable, is called Vajra.”¹ To realise the Vajra nature of things is, therefore, to realise the ultimate void

¹ *dr̥ḍham sāram asaṁsṛyam acchedyā-bhedyā-lakṣaṇam |
adāhi avināśi ca śūnyatā vajram ucyate ||*

—*Advaya-vajra-saṁgraha*, p. 37 (G.O.S.).

Cf. *abhedyam vajram ity uktam, Hevajra-tantra*, MS. p. 2(A).

Cf. also: *śūnyatā vajram ity uktam, Jvālāvatī-vajra-mālā-tantra*.—MS.,

B.N., No. 47, p. 1(B).

nature of things. Some of the most important Mantras of the Vajra-yānists are,—“ I am of the adamantine nature, which is *Śūnyatā*-knowledge. ”¹ “ All the *dharma*s are of the adamantine nature, I am also of the adamantine nature. ”²

We have seen before that the word Vajra-yāna, which is the name for Tāntric Buddhism in general, really means the *Śūnyatā*-yāna—the path of void which is the adamantine path. We have also seen that this Vajra served as the stamp, as it were, of the Tāntric Buddhists, showing thereby that the aim of the Vajra-yānists in and through all the paraphernalia of Mantras and Tantras was nothing but the realisation of the adamantine void-nature of the self and the not-self.

Who is then the Vajra-sattva? He is the Being of adamantine substance—the ultimate principle as the unity of the universe. It has been said,—“ By *vajra* is meant *Śūnyatā*, and by *sattva* is implied pure knowledge; the identity of the two follows from the nature of Vajra-sattva.”³ Here it seems that the ultimate principle of the Vijñānavādins as pure consciousness (*vijñapti-mātratā*), which is pure knowledge and as such identical with *Śūnyatā* in the form of the absence of subjectivity and objectivity, is the Vajra-sattva. It has again been said, “ *Śūnyatā* is said to be Vajra, and all manifestation in form is said to be *sattva*; Vajra-sattva implies the unity and the identity of the two.”⁴ In other words, the Vajra-sattva is the *Abhūta-parikalpa* of the Vijñānavādins, where both *Śūnyatā* and the world-manifestation remain unrecognisably unified. But the fundamental departure of the Tāntric Buddhists from the standpoint of the Vijñānavādin Buddhists is that the ulti-

¹ *om śūnyatā-jñāna-vajra-svabhāva-tmako'ham* |

² *vajrā-tmakāḥ sarva-dharmā vajrā-tmako'ham* ||

³ *vajreṇa śūnyatā proktā satteṇa jñāna-mātratā* |

tādātmyam anayoḥ siddham vajra-sattea-svabhāvataḥ ||

—*Adhvaya-vajra-saṅgraha*, p. 24.

⁴ *śūnyatā vajram ityuktam ākāraḥ satteṇa ucyate* |

tādātmyam anayoḥ aikyaṁ vajra-sattea iti smṛtaḥ ||

—*Jvālāvalī-vajra-mālā-tantra*. MS. B.N. Sans. No. 47, p. 1(B).

mate principle of the Vajra-yānists, however negatively it might have sometimes been described, was tacitly conceived and more often frankly described as a Being—sometimes as the personal God, the Lord Supreme. Though the Vajra-sattva is free from all existence and non-existence, he, nevertheless, is endowed with the potency of all form and existences and is himself the embodiment of loveliness.¹

This Vajra-sattva, as the Lord Supreme of the Tāntric Buddhists, representing a monotheistic conception of the Godhead, has variously been described in the Buddhist Tantras with all sorts of positive and negative attributes. He is the *Bhagavān* as he possesses all the six excellences; or he is called the Bhagavān as he possesses *bhaga* which means that which breaks or removes; Śūnyatā or Prajñā removes all afflictions and drives away the *Māra* and so śūnyatā is called the *bhaga*.² He is saluted as the Śūnyatā-essence, transcending all imagination, omniscient, embodiment of pure wisdom.³ He is the abode of all merits and is of the nature of all the beings.⁴ He is the Being without origination and destruction, the all-good, the soul-substance of all, the enlightened one—including in him all the static and the dynamic.⁵ Perfect knowledge is his only eye, he is the stainless embodiment of knowledge, pure, all-pervading, the subtle seed (of all creation), the immutable.⁶ He eternally belongs to all the elements, to all the beings—he remains pervading all the bodies in the form of the flow of consciousness (*citta-dhārā*);

¹ *bhavā-bhāva-vinirmukto vajra-satteaḥ sucintitaḥ |
sarvā-kāra-varopetaḥ asecanaka-vigrahaḥ ||*

—*Pañca-krama*, MS. p. 27(A).

² *bhañjanam bhagam ākhyātām kleśa-mārā-dī-bhañjanāt |
prajñā-bādhyāś ca te kleśās tasmāt prajñā bhago'cyate ||*

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS. R.A.S.B.

³ *Prajñā-pāya-viniścaya-siddhi*, Ch. III, Verse 9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Ch. V, Verse 45.

⁵ *Jñāna-siddhi*, p. 84.

⁶ *jñānaika-cakṣur amalā jñāna-mūrtis tathāgataḥ |
niṣkalaḥ sarvago vyāpti sūkṣma-vijam anāsravaḥ ||*

—Quoted in the *Jñāna-siddhi*, Ch. XV.

he is immutable, unthinkable, pure, passionless, perfect void like the sky, free from existence and non-existence.¹ He is sometimes spoken of as of the nature of infinite bliss (*mahā-sukha*); this, we shall see later on, is a great innovation which moulded the whole Tāntric system in a different form.²

The idea of the Dharma-kāya Buddha, discussed before, may be recalled in connection with this idea of the Vajra-sattva. The Dharma-kāya of the Mahāyānists seems to have been replaced by this Vajra-sattva or the Vajra-kāya of the Vajra-yānists. The Vajra-kāya has often been identified with the Dharma-kāya, but often this Vajra-kāya has been conceived as a fourth body added to the three kāyas of the Mahāyānists; in the Sahajiyā sect, or the Sahaja-yāna, which

¹ *Srī-vajra-maṇḍalā-lankāra*, quoted in the *Jñāna-siddhi*, p. 84. Descriptions of this type abound in the Buddhist Tantras. In the *Vyakta-bhāvanugata-tattva-siddhi* the Lord Vajra-sattva is saluted as the Lord to be realised by the individual soul, the Lord without parallel, all-moving, all-pervading, the only doer, the only destroyer, the Lord Supreme over the world, the revealer of potentialities.—

pratyātma-vedyo bhagavān upamā-varjitah prabhuh |
sarvagah sarva-vyāpī ca kartā hartā jagat-patiḥ ||
śrī-mān vajra-sattvo'sau vyakta-bhāva-prakāśakah |

—MS., C.L.B., p. 91(A).

Elsewhere he is saluted as the Sūnyatā-essence, free from all constructive imagination, producing right knowledge; he is perfect wisdom personified, he is the remover of illusion, the preacher of the pure truth, born of the non-essential nature of the *dharma*s; he is Bodhicitta, from him come all the perfectly enlightened ones, all the Bodhisattvas, all truth and all the highest moral virtues. He represents the three jewels, the great way to salvation, the reality in all the static and the dynamic, he is all that are the transformations of the three elements.—

namas te sūnyatā-garbha sarva-saṅkalpa-varjita |
sarvā-prajñāna-sandoha jñāna-mūrte namas tu te ||
jagad-ajñāna-vicchedi śuddha-tattvā-rtha-deśakah |
dharma-nairātmya-sambhūta vajra-sattva namas tu te ||
ratna-trayaṁ mahāyānaṁ tattva-sthāvara-jaṅgamam |
trai-dhātukam idaṁ sarvaṁ jagad-vīra namas tu te ||

—Sampulikā, MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 4854), p. 12(B).

Cf. also: suśuddha-mahājñānaṁ sarva-deva-svarūpakam |
vajra-sattva iti khyātaṁ paraṁ sukham udāhṛtam ||
svayambhū-rūpam etat tu dharma-kāya-svarūpakam |
tasyaiva sahajā prajñā sthita tadgata-rūpiṇī ||

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 48(B).

² *sa caiva sarva-bhāvena sarvadā samasthitah |*
anādi-nidhanah sattvo vajra-sattvah paraṁ sukham ||

—Quoted in the *Jñāna-siddhi*, Ch. XV,

Cf. also: Adeśya-samatā-vijaya.

is a mere offshoot of the Vajra-yāna, the Vajra-sattva or the Vajra-kāya has been transformed into the Sahaja-kāya, which is decidedly a fourth body conceived above the Dharma-kāya.

We have shown before how Mahāyāna Buddhism was gradually coming closer and closer to the Upaniṣadic ideas and how many Vedāntic ideas were tacitly implied in the Sūnyavāda and Vijñānavāda doctrines. We have also hinted before how the Mahāyānic idea of the Dharma-kāya came nearer to the idea of a monotheistic godhead in popular faith. What was tacitly implied in Mahāyāna was fully developed, consciously or unconsciously, by the Vajra-yānists. The monistic conception of the Brahman is already there in the conception of the Dharma-kāya Buddha, and this conception finds its full expression in the conception of the Vajra-sattva, who is pure consciousness purged off of all the impurities of subjectivity and objectivity; he is pervading the whole universe—the inner principle of all *dharma*s—the unity in diversity; he is a *Being* of infinite wisdom and merit, possessing universal compassion—he is the Lord Buddha.

As a matter of fact, this Vajra-sattva is generally taken in the Buddhist Tantras as the Supreme Being and many of the Tantras begin with salutations to this Lord Supreme in terms which are equally applicable to the Brahman also. It is also interesting to note that all the Buddhist Tantras of

¹ Cf. the salutation at the beginning of the *Pañca-krama*:—

*trailokyā-cāra-muktaṃ gagana-samagataṃ sarva-bhāva-svabhāvaṃ
durbodhaṃ durvicāraṃ sa-para-hitatamaṃ vyāpinaṃ nirnimittaṃ |
śuddhaṃ śāntaṃ civiktaṃ parama-śivamayaṃ yogināṃ eoa gamyaṃ, etc.*

Cf. also: *namo vajra-sattoāya |*

*praṇipatya jagan-nāthaṃ sarva-jīva-vārā-rcitaṃ |
sarva-buddhamayaṃ siddhi-vyāpinaṃ gagano-pamam ||
sarvadaṃ sarva-sattvebhyaḥ sarvajñaṃ varavajriṇam |
bhaktyā'haṃ sarva-bhāvena vakṣye tat-sādhanam param ||*

—*Jñāna-siddhi*, Ch. I, Verses 1-2.

Cf. also: the salutations at the beginning of *Advaya-siddhi* (MS. C.L.B. No. 13124), *Tattva-siddhi* (MS. C.L.B. No. 13124), *Acintyā-dvaya-krama-padeśa* (MS. C.L.B. No. 13124), *Catur-mudrā* (MS. C.L.B. No. 13124), *Vajrayāna-sādhana-āgāni* (MS. R.A.S.B. No. 4837), *Śoḍaśa-mānasī-bhava-cakra* (MS. R.A.S.B. No. 10741B), etc.

the *Saṅgīti*-type¹ open with a galaxy of the Buddhas, Bodhi-sattvas and innumerable other heavenly, terrestrial as well as ghostly beings assembled to listen to the words of the Lord Supreme, who is none but the Vajra-sattva.²

The most striking feature of Vajra-yāna associated with the conception of the Vajra-sattva is the importance attached to the self. According to the Upaniṣads, the Brahman, who is both immanent and transcendent, is to be realised within as the self. Brahma-realisation really means the realisation of the self as the Brahman. The Buddhist Tantras also say that the *Sādhaka*, who realises the Vajra-sattva, himself becomes the Vajra-sattva. To realise the Vajra-sattva is to realise that all existence is nothing but *Śūnyatā* in its pure nature; but once the *Sādhaka* becomes endowed with this wisdom through his realisation, he becomes the Vajra-sattva. He is also called the *Mahā-sattva* as he is full of the bliss of infinite knowledge; and as he is always engaged in the right method of religious observances (*samaya*), he is called the *Samaya-sattva*; as he is eternally associated with the disciplinary practices for the attainment of wisdom, he is called the *Bodhi-sattva*, and as associated with perfect wisdom, he is called the *Jñāna-sattva*.³ It is emphatically said in the *Jñāna-siddhi* that our *Bodhi*-mind, which is of the nature of the Vajra, is itself the Buddhahood; so Buddhahood should

¹ The *Saṅgīti* is the type of Buddhist literature which invariably opens with an assembly of the faithful devotees to whom Lord Buddha would preach all truth, and this type of literature also invariably opens with a sentence like this:—*evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye*, etc. (Cf. *Gandha-vamsa*, Pali Text-book Society). These Buddhist Tantras are called the *Buddha-vacanas* (or the sayings of the Buddha) and in Tibetan translations they form an important part of the Kangyur collection while the translations of the texts, which are composed by the Buddhist *Ācāryas* themselves, form part of the Tangyur collection.

² Cf. *śāstā sarva-buddha-bodhisattvānām sarva-tathāgatānām ca sa eva bhagavān mahā-vajra-dharaḥ sarva-buddha-jñāna-dhipatir iti* |
—*Śrī-guhyā-samāja*, Ch. XVII.

³ *abhedyam vajram ity uktam sattvaṃ tri-bhāvasyaikatā* |
anayā prajñayā yuktam vajra-sattva itī smṛtaḥ ||
mahā-jñāna-rasaiḥ pūrṇo mahā-sattvo nigadyate |
nityam samaya-pravṛttatvāt samaya-sattvo vidhīyate ||
bodhi-caryā-samāśena bodhi-sattvaṃ nigadyate |
prajñā-jñāna-samāyogāt jñāna-sattvas tathāgataḥ ||

—MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 11317) p. 2(A).

be realised through conceiving all things as the self.¹ In such a stage a man realises himself in all things, everywhere, in all aspects, by all means and for all time, and he realises the universalised self as the universal perfectly enlightened one.² This realisation of the self as the highest being is the realisation of the self as God (*devatā*) and the process is technically called the *svādhi-daivata-yoga*.³ It is frequently prescribed that the self should be realised as God and then it should be worshipped with all the usual rites and rituals.⁴ In the *Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi* it is said that the Lord is of the nature of all existence in the form of the Bodhicitta; he is the Lord, the holder of the thunder, and this self verily is God.⁵ It is found in most of these Sādhana that gods and goddesses are first of all to be thought of on the solar or the lunar disc or on the lotus, but the whole group is then to be meditated on within as identical with the self. The *Svādhiṣṭhāna-krama* of the *Pañca-krama* gives a very clear exposition of this theory of self-worship. The Yogin is first of all to meditate on the nature of the world, and through deep concentration of the mind to realise the nature of the phenomenal world as purely illusory; then he is to realise the Vajra-sattva who is free from all the categories of existence and non-existence, who is endowed with all the forms, yet of whom no form can be conceived, and then it is added that to realise the self is to realise this Vajra-sattva. The self is described here as the all-powerful, the universal Buddhahood, and, therefore, it has been prescribed that with

¹ *bodhicittam idaṁ vajraṁ sarva-buddhatvam ātmanāḥ |*
tasmāt sarvātma-yogena sarva-buddhatvam āpnute ||

—*Jñāna-siddhi*, Ch. XV.

² *sarvatra sarvataḥ sarvaṁ sarvathā sarvadā svayam |*
sarva-buddhamayaṁ siddhaṁ svamātmānaṁ prapaśyati ||

—*Ibid.*, Ch. XV, Verse 52.

³ Cf. *svādhidaivata-yogena sarvaṁ ekaṁ vikalpayet.*

—*Abhidhāno-ttara*, MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 10739) p. 7(A).

⁴ *sarva-bhogo-pabhogai (śca) sevyaṁānair yathāsukham |*
svādhi-daivata-yogena svam ātmānaṁ prapūjayet ||

—Ch. XV, Verse 54.

⁵ *sarva-bhāva-svabhāvo'yaṁ bodhicitta-svarūpataḥ |*
sa eva bhagavān vajrī tasmād ātmaiva devatā ||

—Ch. V, Verse 33.

all care the self should always be worshipped.¹ All the Mantras and Mudrās and Maṇḍalas—everything should be applied to the worship of the self. The chapter concludes with the injunction that everything should first of all be realised in its *Sūnyatā*-nature and then should be thought of as the self.² This realisation of the self in all as of the immutable and all-pervading nature is the *svādhiṣṭhāna* (affirmation of the self) and this *svādhiṣṭhāna* is the secret of all Yogas.³

With the evolution of the idea of the Vajra-sattva as the Lord Supreme there evolved a new pantheon in Vajra-yāna. The Vajra-sattva is the Primal Enlightened One—the Ādi-Buddha. This Lord Supreme possesses five kinds of knowledge which are like five attributes of the Lord. From these five attributes proceed five kinds of meditation (*dhyāna*) and from these five kinds of *Dhyāna* emanate five deities who are known as the five Dhyānī Buddhas. These Dhyānī Buddhas are the five presiding deities over the five *skandhas*, viz., *rūpa* (material element), *vedanā* (feeling), *saṃjñā* (conceptual knowledge), *saṃskāra* (synthetic compound mental states), and *viññāna* (consciousness).⁴ The deities are (1) Vairocana, (2) Ratna-sambhava or Ratna-ketu (*vide*, *Śrī-guhyā-samāja*, p. 12), or Ratna-nātha (*vide*, *Pañca-krama*, Ch. I), (3) Amitābha, or Amitāyus (*vide*, *Śrī-guhyā-samāja*, p. 12), (4) Amogha-siddhi, or Karma-nātha (*vide*, *Pañca-krama*) and (5) Akṣobhya respectively.⁵

¹ *ātma vai sarva-buddhatvaṃ sarva-sauritvaṃ eva ca |*
tasmāt sarva-prayātneṇa hy ātmānaṃ pūjayet sadā ||

—MS. p. 27(B).

² *bahunātra kim uktena vajra-yoge tu tattvataḥ |*
yad yad ālambayed yogī tat tad ātmaiva kalpayet ||

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 27(B).

³ *Ibid.*, MS. p. 28(B).

⁴ In the *Śrī-cakra-sambhāra-tantra* these five deities are explained as the five aspects of wisdom coming from the unobstructed mind; they are the Dhyānī Buddhas, whereas the presiding deities over the five *skandhas* are Vairocana (*rūpa*), Vajra-sūrya (*vedanā*), Padmanarteśvara (*saṃjñā*), Rāja-vajra (*saṃskāra*) and Buddha Vajra-sattva (*viññāna*). Ch. on 'The good wishes'.

⁵ *rūpa-vedanā-saṃjñā-saṃskāra-viññānam eva ca |*
pañca-buddha-svabhāvan tu skandho-tpatti-viniścitam ||

—*Vajra-vārāhi-kalpa-mahātāntra*, MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 11285), p. 10(A).

This pantheon of the five Dhyānī Buddhas seems to have evolved in later Buddhism with some influence from the Sāṅkhya philosophy. The five *skandhas* of the Buddhists were confusedly mixed up with the *pañca-bhūtas* (five material elements) of the Sāṅkhya, viz., earth (*kṣiti*), water (*ap*), fire (*tejas*), air (*marut*) and ether (*vyoma*). These five material elements, together with the five sense-organs, proceed, according to the Sāṅkhya, from the five *Tan-mātras* or potential elements or generic essences of sound, touch, colour, taste and smell. The word *Tan-mātra* may broadly be explained as that in and through which the unmanifested and unspecified reality (*tat*) is measured, i.e., manifested and specified. In this sense the five *Tan-mātras* may remind us of the five kinds of knowledge of the Primal Lord which are popularly conceived as the five attributes of the Lord, and from these five attributes of knowledge follow the five kinds of Dhyānas, from which again proceed the five Dhyānī Buddhas, who are again the presiding deities over the five aggregates (*skandhas*). The nature of these five kinds of *jñāna* is not explained anywhere; but they seem to be five kinds of creative potencies in the ultimate nature of the Lord, which is pure consciousness.¹ We have seen before that in Vijñānavāda Buddhism the ultimate reality as the Abhūta-parikalpa, though bereft of all subjectivity and objectivity, possesses in it the potency of world creation. The nature of this creative potency is also knowledge and from five kinds of such knowledge there proceed five kinds of specification in the pure consciousness of the Lord and these five kinds of specification of consciousness are the five kinds of Dhyānas which are again the generic essence of the five *skandhas*.

¹ The five kinds of *jñāna*, according to the *Adeśya-vajra-saṃgraha*, are (i) *suvisuddha-dharma-dhātu-jñāna* producing (?) Vairocana, (ii) *ādarśa-jñāna*, producing Akṣobhya, (iii) *pratyaśekṣanā-jñāna* producing Amitābha, (iv) *śamatā-jñāna*, producing Ratna-sambhava, and (v) *kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna*, producing Amogha-siddhi. The *dhyāna* for creation in general is known as *loka-saṃsarjana*. We may remember in this connection that *ādarśa-jñāna*, *śamatā-jñāna*, *pratyaśekṣanā-jñāna* and *kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna* are the four kinds of knowledge which Lord Buddha himself is said to have possessed.

In the Tāntric literature these five Dhyānī Buddhas are described with their Śaktis or divine consorts. Each Dhyānī Buddha has got a particular consort, a particular colour, crest, *Mudrā* (posture) and *Vāhana*; each again has a particular Bodhisattva, a human Buddha, a *bīja-mantra*, a location, and each is again associated with a particular *Kula* or family; they are again associated with the *pañca-bhūtas*, and the five sense-organs of sight, sound, touch, taste and smell. They are again placed in different parts of the human body. The whole thing may be illustrated with the help of the table given in the next page (the controversies being ignored).¹

These five Dhyānī Buddhas are also called the five Tathāgatas and in the hierarchy of the Pañca-tathāgatas Akṣobhya, the presiding deity over *viññāna* is, often, given the highest place and the first four Tathāgatas are generally marked by the miniature of the fifth Tathāgata Akṣobhya, and the latter again in his turn is marked by the miniature of the Vajra-sattva. The marking of the first four Tathāgatas by the miniature of Akṣobhya implies that the first four *skandhas* are nothing but modes and modifications of consciousness,² they are the constructions from the consciousness. But the *viññāna*, as one of the aggregates,³ is not the ultimate reality, pure consciousness which is absolutely free from the notions of the *grāhya* and the *grāhaka* is the ultimate reality, and this ultimate principle of void is the Vajra-sattva, and, therefore, even Akṣobhya is marked by the miniature figure of Vajra-sattva.

¹ For this, see *Śrī-guhyā-samāja*, *Adeya-vajra-saṃgraha* (Chs. on *Pañca-tathāgata-mudrā-vicearaṇa* and *Pañcākāra*), *Hevajra-tantra*, Ch. IX, *Sampuṭikā*, Ch. I, *Pañca-krama*, Ch. I, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* by A. Getty, *Buddhist Iconography* by Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, pp. 1-8, and *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, by Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, Ch. XIII.

² *Pañca-tathāgata-mudrā-vicearaṇa* in *Adeya-vajra-saṃgraha*.

Cf. also: *rūpa-vedanā-samjñā-saṃskāra-skandhā-tmakā vairocana-ratna-sambhava-mitābhā-moghasiddhaya viññāna-mātratā iti pratipādanāya akṣobhyeṇa mudryante iti* | —*Pañcākāra*, *Adeya-vajra-saṃgraha*, p. 42.

³ *Viññāna* here seems to be taken in sense of 'awareness'.

Dhyāni Buddha	Skandha	Direc- tion	Colour	Śakti	Bodhi- sattva	Human Buddha	Kula (Family)	Mount (Vāhana)	Posture (Mudrā)	Bija	Element (bhūta), sense- perception and sense- organ	Loca- tion in the human body
Vairo- cana	Rūpa	Centre	White	Vajra- dhātve- śvarī or Tārā	Samanta- bhadrā or Cakra- pāṇi	Krako- cchanda	Moha	Dragon	Dharma- cakra	'a' or 'om'	Vyoma (ether) Sound (śabda) Ear	Head
Akṣo- bhya	Vi- jñāna	East	Blue	Locanā	Vajra pāṇi	Kanaka- muni	Dveṣa	Ele- phant	Bhu- sparśa	'y' or 'hum'	Marut (air) Touch (sparśa) Skin	Heart
Ratna- sambhava	Vedanā	South	Yellow	Māmaki	Ratna- pāṇi	Kāyapaś	Cintā- maṇi	Lion	Varada	'r' or 'svā'	Tejas (fire) Vision (rūpa) Eye	Navel
Amitā- bha	Samjñā	West	Red	Pāṇḍarā	Padma- pāṇi, or Avalokite- śvara	Gautama	Rāga	Peacock	Samādhi	'b' or 'āh'	Water (ap) Taste (rasa) Tongue	Mouth
Amogha- siddhi	Sādā- kāra	North	Green	Ārya- tārā or Tārā	Vigrahapāṇi	Maitreya	Samaya	Garuḍa	Abhaya Viśva- vajra	't' or 'hāh'	Earth (kṛtī) Smell (gandha) Nose	Legs

This Vajra-sattva is not merely of the nature of Śūnyatā, it is a non-dual state of Śūnyatā and Karuṇā; to imply that the void-consciousness is also of the nature of an identity of both Śūnyatā and Karuṇā, Akṣobhya is marked by the Vajra-sattva.¹ Thus the Vajra-sattva is identified with the Bodhicitta. It is said that when Prajñā or the Śūnyatā-knowledge commingles with universal compassion, there remains no thinker, no thinkable, no thought; this is the state of non-duality, this is called the Bodhicitta—this is the adamant truth—this is the Vajra-sattva—the perfectly enlightened one (*sambuddha*), this is perfect wisdom.² This Vajra-sattva (or Vajra-dhara, as he is sometimes called) is also described in the Tantras with his consort variously called Vajra-sattvātmikā, Vajra-vārāhī, Prajñā, Prajñā-pāramitā, etc., and his *bīja-mantra* is *hum*.³ This Vajra-sattva, the Lord Supreme of the Tāntric Buddhists, is found in the Buddhist Tantras bearing many other names of which the most important are Hevajra and Heruka.

(ii) Bodhicitta

(A) GENERAL CONCEPTION OF BODHICITTA

In our previous discussion we have seen that the self as the Vajra-sattva has often been said to be the Bodhicitta. The original meaning of the word Bodhicitta, as we have seen, is the *citta* (mind) bent on attaining perfect enlightenment with a view to helping all beings to be liberated of the cycle of existence. But Bodhicitta in later Mahāyāna implies the state of the *citta* where a perfect commingling of Śūnyatā and Karuṇā becomes the very essence of our consciousness. In the Buddhist Tantras the word Bodhicitta, though some-

¹ *viśvānāśa nāiḥsvabhāvyasya śūnyatā-karuṇāyos tādātmaka(ṭvam) ca pratipādayitām akṣobhyo'pi vajra-sattvena mudryate. —Ibid., p. 42.*

² *etad advayam ity uktam bodhicittam idam param |
vajram śrī-vajra-sattvam ca sambuddho bodhir eva ca ||*

—*Prajñā-pāya-viniścaya-siddhi*, Ch. IV, Verse 17.

³ *Cf. tan-madhye tu huṃkāraṃ vajra-sattva-svarūpakam, etc.*

—*Heruka-tantra*, MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 11279), p. 28(A).

times used in its older sense,¹ generally implies the Mahāyānic sense of the unification of the two elements of *Sūnyatā* and *Karuṇā*. Breathing the general spirit of Mahāyāna, Saraha-pāda says in one of his Dohās, "He who discards *Karuṇā* and sticks to *Sūnyatā* alone never has access to the right path; he, again, who meditates only on *Karuṇā*, is not liberated even in thousands of births; he on the other hand, who can mingle *Sūnyatā* with *Karuṇā*, remains neither in *bhava*

¹ In the *Śrī-guhyā-samāja* we have a detailed discussion on the meaning of the word *Bodhicitta* and though at the end of the discussion *Bodhicitta* is described as the unity of *Sūnyatā* and *Karuṇā* the earlier discussion is dominated by the sense of the word as the realisation of the essencelessness of the *dharma*s. Here the Lord is approached by the Tathāgatas of the assembly to explain to them the nature of the *Bodhicitta*. The Lord does not make any direct reply, but asks them first to realise the oneness pervading the body, speech and mind. Through the realisation of the homogeneity underlying the body, speech and mind the Tathāgatas realise that all origination is talked of about what is essentially un-produced. The Lord then becomes absorbed in a special kind of meditation and exclaims:

abhāve bhāvanā-bhāvo bhāvanā naiva bhāvanā |
iti bhāvo na bhāvaḥ syād bhāvanā no'palabhyate ||

The meaning of the verse, as explained in the *Sehoddṣa-ṭīkā* (G.O.S., p. 41), is that when existence is viewed from the perspective of the void (*abhāva*), no thought-construction remains a positive thought-construction, and existence also ceases to be existence.

After this, Vairocana Tathāgata exclaims in his meditation on the nature of *Bodhicitta*,—'My *citta* is devoid of all (notions of) existence, it is unassociated with any *skandha*, *dhātu*, *āyatana*,—or with subjectivity and objectivity,—it is without origination and is of the nature of void as are all the *dharma*s by nature'. *Akṣobhya* exclaims in his own turn,—'All existence is without origination; there is no *dharma*, neither any essence of the *dharma*s; all this is essenceless like the sky,—this is the immutable *bodhi*'. We find an echo of the same truth in the exclamation of *Ratnaketu* (or *Ratna-sambhava*), who says,—'Unreal are all the *dharma*s,—for they (*dharma*s) have no definition (*lakṣaṇa*); everything originates from the essencelessness of the *dharma*s (*dharma-nairātmya*), and this is called the immutable *bodhi*'. *Amitāyus* (*Amitābha*) in his turn gives another description of the *Bodhicitta*; he says,—'All the *dharma*s being without origination there is neither any existence nor any notion of existence: existence of things is spoken of in exactly the same way as the existence of the sky.' Then comes the turn of *Amoghasiddhi*, who exclaims in his deep meditation that all the *dharma*s are effulgent by nature, they are perfectly pure like the sky. Then they all join in reciting the *gāthā* in praise of the *Bodhicitta* which is described here as of the nature of pure truth, pure entity (*suddhā-rtha*), originating from the non-essential nature of things, filling the Buddhas with pure knowledge (*bodhi*), without thought-construction, without any support, good all round, benevolent, the inspirer of the *bodhi*-mind,—embodiment of the practices for the *Bodhicitta*, immutable by nature.

(existence) nor in *nirvāṇa* (extinction)".¹ Thus Bodhicitta state of the self is, according to the Tāntric Buddhists, a transcendental state—it is a state of supreme realisation transcending both *bhava* and *nirvāṇa*. The self in this state of Bodhicitta is the supreme reality—it is the Vajra-sattva. It is "without a beginning, without an end, quiescent, it is immutable in existence as well as in non-existence, it is the non-duality of *Sūnyatā* and *Karuṇā*."² It is eternal resplendent, pure, the abode of all the Jinas, it includes all the *dharma*s within it, it is divine—the cause of the whole universe."³

(B) *SŪNYATĀ* AND *KARUṆĀ* AS *PRAJÑĀ* AND *UPĀYA*

Sūnyatā and *Karuṇā* are widely termed *Prajñā* and *Upāya* respectively in Tāntric Buddhism. *Sūnyatā* is called *Prajñā* simply because it represents perfect knowledge. So far as an individual *Sādhaka* is concerned, this perfect knowledge is rather a static or negative state of mind which separates the individual from the world of suffering beings; *Karuṇā*, on the other hand, acts in his mind like a dynamic

- ¹ *karuṇā chaḍḍi jo suṇṇahi laggu |*
naṁ so pavai uttima maggu ||
ahavā karuṇā kevala bhāvaṁ |
jamma-sahasani makkha ṇa pāvaṁ ||
suṇṇa karuṇā jaṁ joṇṇu sakkaṁ |
naṁ bhava naṁ nivaṇṇe thakkai ||

—Dr. P. C. Bagchi's Edition, p. 29.

- ² *anādi-nidhanam śāntam bhāvā-bhāvā-kṣayam vibhum |*
sūnyatā-karuṇā-bhinnaṁ bodhicittam iti smṛtam ||

—*Śrī-guhyā-samāja*, Ch. XVIII.

This definition of *Bodhicitta* has been commented upon in the *Jñāna-siddhi*, where it is said that by the epithet 'without beginning and end' is implied the absence of origination and destruction, and by that again is implied the all-pervading, unchanging and eternal nature of the *Bodhicitta*. It is quiescent because all the *kleśa*s (afflictions) end here; it is the lord, because it performs all the mundane as well as *supra*-mundane duties. It is *sūnyatā* because of the essencelessness of all the *dharma*s,—and it is *karuṇā* because of the resolution in it of elevating all the beings to the state of perfect wisdom, and helping them in attaining perfect peace. (G.O.S.) pp. 72-73.

- ³ *nityam prabhāsvaram śuddham bodhicittam jñā-layam |*
sarva-dharmamayam divyam nikhilā-spada-kāraṇam ||

—*Prajñā-pāya-viniścaya siddhi*, Ch. II, Verse 29.

force—the moral inspiration that prompts one to find oneself universalised in an emotion of deep compassion. This moral inspiration as purified by perfect knowledge induces a man to moral activities, which never bind the man, but liberates him as well as others. Prajñā is passive by nature, the religious inspiration is derived from the active emotion of compassion, which serves like the means or the expedience (*upāya*) for the realisation of the highest goal. Prajñā is the one universal principle, the oneness as the ‘suchness’ (*tathatā*) underlying the diversity of the phenomenal world, while the Upāya is the principle that brings down our mind again to the world of particulars. Through Prajñā one is purified, while Upāya draws one’s perfectly purified mind down to the world of particulars where the helpless beings are found suffering the miseries of life. This Upāya prompts man to benevolent activities for the removal of sorrow, but as already hinted, these moral activities are always associated with and guided by Prajñā, which is the ultimate principle of purification, and thus they cannot leave any good or bad impression as *saṃskāra* on the mind of a man, so that by these activities he is never again bound in the snare of *vāsanā* and *saṃskāra* and consequently in the cycle of birth and death. Further we have seen, Prajñā or Śūnyatā makes one view the whole of existence from the *pāramārthika* point of view where there is neither suffering nor happiness and consequently no scope left for the spirit of benevolence; it is Upāya that draws our attention to the world of suffering and inspires one to sacrifice one’s salvation for the removal of the miseries of the suffering world.

The use of the term Prajñā for Śūnyatā is well known in Buddhist philosophy and literature, they are often treated as synonyms; but the use of the term Upāya for Karuṇā seems to be somewhat technical. On the authority of Suzuki we find that these conceptions of Prajñā and Upāya are already there from the time of Aśvaghoṣa. It is said in his *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* (*Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda-sūtra*) that Enlightenment *a priori* has two attributes, viz., (I) Pure wisdom (*Prajñā*) and (II) Incomprehensible activity

(*Upāya? Karuṇā*).¹ Later on the word *Upāya* is found widely used in Mahāyāna texts for *Karuṇā*.² In standard Mahāyāna texts *Upāya* has generally been used to indicate missionary activities mainly in the form of preaching the truth among lay people to remove their veil of ignorance and to enable them to realise the truth.³

What is said above about *Prajñā* and *Upāya* and their union has variously been expounded in the Buddhist Tantras under various imageries. In the *Hevajra-tantra* *Upāya* and *Prajñā* have been described under the imagery of the Yogin and the Mudrā (the great woman to be adopted in *Yoga-sādhana*), and the Bodhicitta is the perfect union of this Yogin and the Mudrā who stand for *Karuṇā* and *Sūnyatā* respectively.⁴ In all classes of Buddhist Tantras the most important thing is the stress on this union of *Prajñā* and

¹ P. 66. Also cf., p. 99.

² Nāgārjuna used the word *Upāya* for *Karuṇā* (vide *Mādhyamikavṛtti*, La Vallée Poussin's edition, p. 2).

³ Vide *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, Ch. II, pp. 28-58, Bibliotheca Buddhica publication.

In the *Bodhipakṣya-paṭala* of the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* this *upāya-kaṣṭhala* is said to be of twelve kinds in all; six from the internal side concerning the adoption of the religion preached by Buddha, and six from the external side concerning the fruition of the essence. (Edited by Unrai Wogihara, p. 26.) For a detailed discussion on the divisions of *upāya-kaṣṭhala* see *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* (which is but the fifteenth section of the *Yogācāra-bhūmi* of Vasubandhu), pp. 262-72.

⁴ *kṛpā-pāyo bhaved yogī mudrā hetu-viyogataḥ |*

sūnyatā karuṇā-bhinnaṁ bodhicittam itī smṛtam ||

—Paṭala X, MS. p. 30(A).

The commentary says that the state of mind that feels the self-sameness in all the beings is compassion, and it is the 'great means' (*upāya*) as it is the means for attaining perfect enlightenment;—and that is also the Yogin,—for, that is the cardinal principle of a Yogin. The *mudrā* is the *prajñā*, for she is the *sūnyatā* in the sense of the non-production of all the *dharma*s,—and she is the non-production of beings because nothing can originate either from the self or from others or from the combination of both or from something other than their combination.

kṛpā'ty ādī/sarva-sattveṣu ātma-samatā-cittam kṛpā saiva paramopāyaḥ/samyak-sambodhi-prasādhano-pāyatevāt/sa ca yogī/yoginām pradhāna-dharmatevāt/mudrā prajñā kāsāv ity āha / sūnyatā sarva-dharmāṇām anutpādaḥ / katham anutpādaḥ sūnyatā / āha / hetu viyogataḥ svataḥ parata ubhayato'nubhayataḥ sarva-bhāvāṇām anutpāteḥ / anutpāda-lakṣṇā sūnyatā / saiva paramā prajñā—Hevajrapañjikā, MS, p. 41(B).

Upāya, either in the philosophical sense or the esoteric yogic sense. The authority of renowned Buddhist Ācāryas like Ārya-vimala-kīrti and others have often been quoted, who are said to have stressed the truth that Upāya is bondage when unassociated with Prajñā, and even Prajñā is also bondage when unassociated with Upāya; both of them again become liberation when the one is associated with the other. Their commingling through the instructions of the competent teacher, like the inseparable co-existence of the lamp and the light, will conduce to success in realising the real nature of the self and the *dharmas*. Whatever practices there are, they should, therefore, be preceded by a knowledge or rather the realisation of the true purport of the union of Prajñā and Upāya.¹ The cardinal principle of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, says the *Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara*, points to the state of *citta* shining in the unity of Śūnyatā and Karuṇā.²

Upāya has again very nicely been compared to a boat in the *Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi*. There it is said that compassion is called *rāga* (affection) as it affects, or causes happiness, to all the beings who are distressed with infinite sufferings. This compassion is like a boat which brings all beings to the favourable shore, and it is for this reason that it is called the Upāya. The commingling of this Prajñā and Upāya like the mixture of water and milk in a state of non-duality is called the *prajñō-pāya*.³ It is an absolutely pure

¹ Quoted in the *Kudṛṣṭi-nirghātanam* of the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha*, p. 2; also p. 55.

² *śūnyatā-karuṇā-bhinnam yatra cittaṃ prabhāvyate |*
so hi buddhasya dharmasya saṅghasyā'pi hi deśanā ||

—Quoted in the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha*, p. 26.

³ *rañjaty aśeṣa-duḥkhaughā-nutthāms tu duḥkha-hetutaḥ |*
sarva-sattvān yatas tasmāt kṛpā rāgaḥ pragīyate
upānayat abhīmatam yan naukeṣā'nukūlataḥ ||
sadā'nukūla-yogena saivo'pāyaḥ prakīrtitaḥ ||
ubhayor melanam yac ca salila-kṣīrayor iva |
advayā-kāra-yogena prajñō-pāyaḥ sa ucyate ||

—*Prajñō-pāya-viniścaya-siddhi*, p. 5.

For the first line, viz., *rañjaty aśeṣa*, etc. MM. Vidhuśekhara Śāstrī suggests the following correct reading (with the help of the Tibetan Translation):—

rakṣaty aśeṣa-duḥkhaughād rāgeṇa duḥkha-hetutaḥ |

And for *yannaukeṣā'nukūlataḥ* he suggests *yallokābhīmatam phalam*.

—*Vide Modern Review*, October, 1930.

state free from subjectivity and objectivity, free from the mud of reality and unreality—from the definition and the defined; it is neither duality, nor non-duality—it is quiescent—all good—all pervading, immutable and only to be intuited within; it itself is the wonderful abode of all the Buddhas—the divine *Dharma-dhātu*,—from it emanate all the three *kāyas*, the three *yānas*, innumerable *mantras*, *mudrā*, *maṇḍala*, *cakra*—all gods, demons, ghosts, men and everything else; it is like the wish-yielding gem (*cintāmaṇi*)—a combination of both enjoyment and liberation (*bhukti-mukti-padam*). In the chapter on the meditation on the ultimate truth (*tattva-bhāvanā*) of the *Prajñā-pāya-viniścaya-siddhi* it has been said that the truth is both *Prajñā* and *Upāya* combined together; for, it is *Prajñā* as it is the absence of all phenomenalization (*niṣprapañca-svarūpatvāt*), and it is compassion, because like the wish-yielding gem it does everything for the good of the beings. Supportless is *Prajñā*, and supportless is the great compassion; they should be united like the union of the sky with the sky. In that stage there is no thinker—no thought—nothing to be thought of; there all seeing of sights, hearing of sounds,—muttering, laughing—enjoyment—doing of all deeds,—all become *yoga* for a man.¹

¹ *Prajñā-pāya-viniścaya-siddhi*, Ch. IV, Verses 10-16. Similar discussions on the nature of *Prajñā* and *Upāya* are found in many of the Tantras. In the *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha* we find a discussion as to whether Buddhahood is to be attained only through *Prajñā* or only through *Upāya*. The answer is that Buddhahood is to be attained neither through *Prajñā* alone nor through *Upāya*; but if the essence of both *Prajñā* and *Upāya* becomes of the same nature—if the two become inseparably connected—become united into one, then and then only a *Sādhaka* becomes entitled to the highest reality which is at once enjoyment and liberation.

idānīm vicāryate | prajñayā kevalayā kim buddhatvaṃ syān na (no, sic.) ced upāya-mātra-karmenā'pi |

ucyate ce'dam, na kevalam prajñā-mātreṇa buddhatvaṃ nā'py upāya-mātreṇa, kintu yadi punaḥ prajñā-pāya-lakṣaṇau samatā-svabhāvau bhavataḥ etau dvayā-bhinna-rūpau bhavataḥ ekākārau bhavataḥ tadā bhukti-mukti itī,—Bendall's Edition, p. 32.

It is further said that the *citta* (i.e., the *Bodhicitta*) is neither affected, i.e., pleased (*rajyate*) by affection (*rāga*) or compassion or the *Upāya* (*rāga=karuṇā=upāya*), nor is it displeased by indifference (*virāga=sūnyatā*, or *prajñā*); success is attainable only through the equalization of both *rāga* and *virāga*. It (*citta*) is of

It is said in the *Citta-viśudhi-prakarana* that as by the rubbing of two logs of wood fire is produced which is pure in the beginning, in the middle as well as at the end, and which shows everything by its illumination, so also by the union of Prajñā and Upāya the pure and luminous wisdom of the Yogin is produced. The absolutely pure *dharma-dhātu*, that is obtained by properly churning the milk of Prajñā and Upāya, is the destroyer of both pleasure and pain.²

(C) COSMOLOGICAL AND ONTOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE
OF PRAJÑĀ AND UPĀYA

We have hinted before that the conceptions of Prajñā and Upāya acquired a cosmological and ontological significance in course of time. Prajñā is the passive principle as the *dharma-kāya* or the 'thatness' (*tathatā*) with perfect purity and perfect knowledge in her; but the whole world (*i.e.*, the *sambhoga-kāya* and the *nirmāṇa-kāya*) is a display of the Upāya, and the world-process itself in the form of the *sambhoga-* and *nirmāṇa-kāya* is a means to lead all the sentient beings to the ultimate goal of perfect purification; this principle of passivity and the principle of activity are then the two aspects of the one absolute reality.

We have seen that the difference between *śūnyatā* and *kṛpā* is just like the difference between the lamp and the light and the unity of *śūnyatā* and *kṛpā* is also just like the unity of the lamp and the light. The import is that as light cannot exist without the lamp, so the lamp also is meaningless

the nature of both Prajñā and Upāya,—and in the nature of the combination of both Prajñā and Upāya it attains the highest realization.

Na rāgeṇa rajyate cittam na virāgeṇa virajyate |
rāgā-rāgaṁ samaṁ kṛtvā mudrā-siddhis tu jāyate ||
cittam prajñā-svarūpeṇa tathaiso'pāya-rūpakam |
prajñā-pāya-svarūpeṇa samtatti prajāyate ||

—*Subhāṣita-saṁgraha*.

It is also said in the *Śrī-kāla-cakra-tantra* that the Sahaja-body (*Sahaja-tanu*) or the *dharma-kāya* is neither Prajñā or Upāya,—it is of the nature of them both.

na prajñā nā'py upāyaḥ sahaja-tanur iyaṁ dharma-kāyo babhūva
prajñā-pāya-svarūpaḥ khalu vigata-tamo-jñāna-vijñāna-vedāt |

—*Śrī-kāla-cakra-tantra*, MS. (Cambridge, Add. 1364), p. 106(B).

² Verses 93, 97.

without light; exactly same is the case with *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*; *karuṇā* which is existence cannot be there without the void or the reality; but the *śūnyatā* also loses her meaning without there being the world of existence,—and so there is an inseparable connection between the two like the relation of any illusory effect with eternity.¹ The world-appearance as a result of dependent origination is the grand bridegroom; had he not been there the bride *śūnyatā* would have been dead as it were. But, on the other hand, had this beautiful bride of *śūnyatā* been separated for any time from the bridegroom, he would remain eternally under bondage. So the relation between *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* is like the relation of inseparable conjugal love; the love between them is the most natural love (*sahajam prema*) and so it is inseparable.²

Goddess Vārāhī who represents Prajñā is spoken of as of the nature of knowledge, whereas god Heruka representing Upāya is spoken of as the knowable, and the *Avadhūti-maṇḍala* (the circle of perfect purification) is formed by the combination of both of this knowledge and of the knowable.³ From all these it is evident that Prajñā is conceived as the absolute knowledge which is negative and passive, whereas Upāya is the positive and active principle. Prajñā is conceived as the female element while Upāya is conceived as the male element.

¹ *bhāvebhyaḥ śūnyatā nā'nyā na ca bhāvo'sti tām vinā |*
avinā-bhāvam iyaḥ kṛtaka-nityayoriva ||

—*Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha*, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, *Prema-pañcaka* (1-3). In the *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha* also we find that the nature of Prajñā is non-existence, whereas the nature of Upāya is existence; essencelessness is Prajñā but of positive nature is Upāya. So the whole truth will be the unity of both these positive and negative aspects.

atra evā'bhāva-lakṣaṇā prajñā bhāva-lakṣaṇa upāya iti |
tathā co'ktaṃ niḥsvabhāva-lakṣaṇā prajñā svabhāva-lakṣaṇa upāya iti tasmāt
prajño-pāya-vidhānena coditaḥ |

—Bendall's Edition, pp. 31-32.

In another place it is said that Prajñā is of the nature of essencelessness while Upāya is the cause of all existence.

niḥ-svabhāva-svarūpeṇa prajñā-bhagav tu saṃsthitaḥ |
upāyo bhāva-janako bhadrapādena deśitaḥ ||—*Ibid.*, p. 70.

In the Sanskrit portion of the *Dākārṇava* (edited by MM. H. P. Śāstrī) Upāya and Prajñā have been spoken of as existence and extinction (p. 158).

³ *Dākārṇava* (Śāstrī's Edition), p. 157.

These conceptions of Prajñā and Upāya have important ontological and cosmological bearing on the four philosophical systems of Nepalese Buddhism.¹ The Svābhāvika school holds that there is no immaterial ultimate truth in the form of the soul substance; matter is the primordial substance from which the world proceeds. This matter as the ultimate substance has two modes which are called *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*, action and rest, dynamic and static, concrete and abstract. Matter is eternal as a crude mass (however infinitely attenuated in *nivṛtti*) and so are the powers of matter. These powers are not only active but also intelligent. The proper state of existence of these powers is the state of *nivṛtti* or rest as the abstraction from all phenomena. When these powers pass from the state of rest into their causal and transitory state of activity the phenomenal world comes into existence and it again ceases to exist when the powers repass from *pravṛtti* to *nivṛtti*. This *nivṛtti* is the Prajñā² and the *pravṛtti* is said to be the Upāya. Prajñā is said to be the abstraction from all effects while Upāya is the concretion of all effects or activities.³ In the Aiśvarika school these Prajñā and Upāya are defined as Ādi-Prajñā and Ādi-Buddha and the visible world is said to be created from the union of the two. According to the Prājñikas⁴ Buddha as the principle of active power first proceeds from *nivṛtti* or Ādi-Prajñā and then associates with her and from their union proceeds the actual visible world. The principle is symbolized as Prajñā being first the mother and then the wife of the Buddha.⁵ The well-known

¹ The systems are: (i) Svābhāvika, (ii) Aiśvarika, (iii) Kārmika, and (iv) Yātnika.

² *Illustrations of the Literature*, etc., by Hodgson, p. 149.

³ *Ibid.*, page 148.

⁴ A sub-division of the Svābhāvika school.

⁵ Here it is interesting to compare with it the Śākta cosmological tradition of the Ādi-Sakti, who is the mother of Śiva and again the wife of Śiva in creating the world. The above principle has often been explained also by the analogy of the Yoni. It is said, 'That Yoni, from which the world was made manifest is the *tri-koṇākāra-yantra*. In the midst of the yantra or *tri-koṇa* is a *bindu*: from the *bindu* Ādi-Prajñā revealed herself by her own will. From one side of the triangle Ādi-Prajñā produced Buddha and from another side *Dharma* and from the third side *Saṅgha*.' (Quoted by Hodgson, page 126). It is also very interesting

triad of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha has often been explained as Prajñā (Dharma), Upāya (Buddha) and the world (Saṅgha) produced by their union. 'Buddha' generally symbolizes the generative power, 'Dharma' (or Prajñā) the productive power and their union produces Saṅgha.¹

This conception of the two counterparts of the ultimate reality has its correspondence in the conceptions of the *Garbha-dhātu* and the *Vajra-dhātu* of Northern Buddhism in general. The *Vajra-dhātu* or the 'thunder-element' is the immutable nature—it is, in other words, the *tathatā* element; while the *Garbha-dhātu* is the 'matrix element' or the phenomenal world corresponding to the *tathāgata-garbha*. They are the two parts of the Maṇḍala.² Their union is symbolized in Nepal by the flame arising from the lotus or the moon-crescent (the flame symbolizing the male element and the lotus or the moon-crescent symbolizing the female element) or by the flame arising from the *kalāśa* (jar); in Tibet the union is symbolized by the *Aśoka* branch in the ambrosia vase, and in both Chinese and Nepalese Buddhism by Yin-yang (the female and the male).³ There Yoga consists in the mystic union of this immutable element, or we may say, the 'thatness' of the dharmas with the active element as the material world. It is for this reason that the theory of Yabyum (the male and the female) could find so much prominence in Northern Buddhism, particularly in Nepal and Tibet where almost all the divinities are accompanied by their female counterparts in a state of close union.

Getty interprets the *Mudrā* (the posture, generally of the hands) of Vairocana (the Lord Supreme of the Shingon

here to compare with it the well-known triangular *yantra* of the Hindu Tantras. Cf. also. *trikoṇākāra-sambhūto dharmodaya iti smṛtaḥ*—and from it originated the whole universe and all the gods and goddesses.—See *Acintyā-dvaya-kramo-padeśa*, MS. (C.L.B. No. 13124) p. 113(A).

¹ Cf. 'From the union of the essences of *Upāya* and *Prajñā* proceeds the world which is Saṅgha' (*Pūjā Khaṇḍa*) quoted by Hodgson, p. 127. Also cf. *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, by A. Getty, p. 11.

² Here the Maṇḍala is the circle with Buddha Mahāvairocana in the centre and with numberless manifestations of his body, such as Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and others, gathered round him.

³ See *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, by A. Getty.

Sect) as indicative of this mystic union. "As Dhyānī Buddha he has the *Dharma-cakra-mudrā*, which the Tibetans call Thabdong-she-srab, or the union of wisdom with matter."¹

This two-fold division of the ultimate reality is also found in the Taoism of China. There also Tao means 'The Great' (cf. Skt. Brahman) and Tei is the power, or activity or the Śakti of 'the great'. They are the negative and positive aspects of the one truth. Creation proceeds through their union—through Yinn and Yang (the female and the male).

With this conception of Prajñā and Upāya as *Nivṛtti* and *Pravṛtti* or as Ādi-prajñā and Ādi-Buddha we may compare the conception of Śiva and Śakti and the *aham* or the 'I-ness' produced by their union (*śiva-śakti-mithunapīṇḍa*). According to the Hindu Tantras the ultimate truth is the union of Śiva and Śakti. Śiva represents pure consciousness which is inactive—the static aspect of the ultimate reality; while Śakti represents the world force—the kinetic energy of the ultimate truth. Śiva is *Nivṛtti* and Śakti is *Pravṛtti* and in the ultimate state they remain in a union of oneness.²

¹ "As Ādi-Buddha he has the *mudrā* of the Six-elements, which also indicates the same principle, and although rare in Tibet, is often found in Japan. The index finger of the left hand is clasped by the five fingers of the right. The six fingers represent the Six-elements which when united, produce the six-fold bodily and mental happiness." He further explains: "The five fingers of the right hand represent the five material elements of which man is composed: earth (little finger), water (ring finger), fire (middle finger), air (index finger) and ether (the thumb). The index finger of the left hand represents the same symbol of Ādi-Buddha; for the sixth element, the mind (*manas*) is a particle of his essence."

The two hands, thus representing the union of the Spiritual with the Material, correspond to the *Vajra-dhātu* and *Garbha-dhātu* of the Maṇḍala of the two parts. The *Vajra-dhātu*, represented by the index finger, is the 'diamond' element corresponding to the spiritual world. The *Garbha-dhātu*, indicated by the five fingers, is the 'matrix' element, corresponding to the material world." *Ibid.*, p. 30.

² Cf. the Hindu Tantric principle of designating the *Sahasrāra* (situated in the cerebrum region) to be the abode of Śiva and the lowest *Mūlādhāra-cakra* to be the seat of Śakti in the form of an electric force, generally known as the *kūlakundalinī-śakti*; this lower region where Śakti resides is generally known as the region of *Pravṛtti* while the higher region or the region of pure intellection is called the region of *Nivṛtti*—and the Sādhana consists in rousing the Śakti, residing in the region of *Pravṛtti*, to unite with the Śiva residing in the region of

From the cosmological standpoint Śiva is said to be the *Bindu* (of white colour to suggest the comparison with seed or semen) and Śakti is *Rakta* (of red colour to suggest the comparison with ovum) and this *Bindu* and *Rakta* unite together to produce the principle of I-ness or egoism.

But we should notice here a very important point of difference between the Buddhist conception of the two aspects of the truth and that of the Śāktas, Śaivas as well as of the Taoists. In Śākta-tantra, Śaiva-tantra as well as in Taoism the passive subjective aspect of the ultimate reality is conceived as the male, whereas the active counterpart has always been conceived as the female, and this conception of passivity as the male and the active counterpart as the female is found in many of the systems of Indian philosophy as represented in the Tantras. The Puruṣa of the Sāṃkhya-system is absolutely qualitiless and inactive, while all the *guṇas* with all their active functions belong to Prakṛti who is generally conceived as the female. In the Vedānta the Brahman is qualitiless and indeterminate, while the world-illusion is ascribed wholly to the activity of *māyā*, and this *māyā* in the popular Vedāntic literature bears an air of femininity. But here, in Buddhism, we find the conception reversed; Śūnyatā or Prajñā which is qualitiless and unchangeable is conceived as the female, while *Karuṇā* or Upāya with the active inspiration is conceived as the male. It may, however, be noted here that the conception of the female as the passive and the male as the active is not also quite unknown in the history of Indian thought.

In the Buddhist Tantras Prajñā and Upāya have sometimes been expressly identified with Śakti and Śiva. Śakti is the *śūnyatā*-perception contradicting all affirmation about things.¹ Perfect bliss is obtained from the union of

Nirṛti; the bliss proceeding from the union of Śiva and Śakti is the highest religious realization.

¹ *lakṣya-lakṣaṇa-nirmuktaḥ vāg-udāhāra-varjitaḥ |*
śiva-śakti-samāyogāt jāyate cā'dbhutaḥ sukham ||
na santi tattvato bhāvāḥ śaktirūpeṇa bhāvitāḥ |
śaktis tu śūnyatā-dṛṣṭiḥ sarvā-ropa-vināśinī ||

—*Nirṇāda-tantra*, quoted in the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha* (G.O.S.), p. 28,

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Siva and Śakti and this bliss is the highest non-duality ; but in the ultimate reality there is neither the Śiva nor the Śakti.¹

In some places, however, the Bodhi-mind in its active state is spoken of as the Upāya while the goddess *Nairātmā* or *Śūnyatā* or the void-knowledge as the Prajñā. In the *Guhya-siddhi* we find that the presiding deity over the mind is the Lord Supreme (*Bhagavān*) and Prajñā is the adamantine woman,² and the Lord was amorously sporting with this adamantine woman in the form of *Mahāsukha*. When the Bodhi-mind in its upward march reaches the ultimate state, it merges itself wholly in *Nairātmā* or *Śūnyatā* or the Sahaja-bliss—and this merging of the Bodhi-mind in goddess *Nairātmā*, or perfect vacuity of the nature of intense bliss, is called the union of the Lord Mind and the Lady Vacuity. Thus Kūkkurīpada sang in a song, ' Desireless am I (the goddess *Nairātmā*), and the void-mind is my husband '.³ Tillopāda says in his Dohās, ' Where the mind and the vacuity enter into the bliss arising out of this communion, the objects of the senses are not perceived at all '.⁴ ' The Mind is the Lord and the Vacuity is the Lady ; they should always be kept united in the Sahaja '.⁵ In a Dohā of Kāṇhupāda it has been said that the Lord-mind merges himself in his wife vacuity and becomes one with her as salt dissolves in water.⁶ In some places again intense bliss (*mahāsukha*) as the ultimate nature and as perfect knowledge has been spoken of as the Yoginī, and the Bodhi-mind as the Yogin.

¹ śiva-śakti-samāyogāt sat-sukhaṁ param advayam |
na śivo nāpi śaktiś ca ratnā-ntargata-saṁsthitam ||

—Ucchuṣma-tantra, quoted in the Advaya-rajra-saṁgraha.

² bhagavāniti nirdiṣṭam cittasyā'dhipatīḥ prabhuh |
vajro-yoṣit smṛtā prajñā yā sā savajrīṇā-tmikā ||

³ hūmṁ nīnāsī kha-maṇa-bhatārī | Song No. 20.

⁴ citta khasama jahi samasuha palatṭhai |
(indīa-vīśa tahi matṭa) ṇa dīśai ||

—Dohā No. 5. (Dr. P. C. Bagchi's Ed.)

⁵ maṇaha (bhaavā) khasama bhaavai |
(divārātti sahaḥa rahai) ||

—Dohā No. 17. (Dr. P. C. Bagchi's Ed.)

⁶ jima loṇa vilijjai pāṇichi tima gharinī lai citta |
samarasa jāi takkhaṇe jāi puṇu te sama nitta ||

—Dohā No. 32. (Dr. P. C. Bagchi's Ed.)

This Yoginī is variously called the *Jñāna-mudrā* (the woman of knowledge) or the *Māhā-mudrā* (the great woman)—she is the *Sahaja*—damsel, with whom the Yogin remains united day and night. The Yogin often says, he would not live without her kiss and embrace—he passes his dark night (of ignorance) in union with that great woman. In the *Caryā-pādas* of the Siddhācāryas we find many songs about this transcendental love and union of the Yogin and Yoginī often garbed in the metaphors of ordinary love and sex-union of man and woman.

(D) PRAJÑĀ AND UPĀYA AS MALE AND FEMALE

The fundamental theological position of the Buddhist Tantras and that of the Hindu Tantras thus become the same. As there is the belief in the Hindu Tantras that the two aspects of the reality are revealed in the world in the form of male and female in general, so there is the belief in the Buddhist Tantras that all men and women are nothing but the manifestation of Upāya and Prajñā respectively; or in other words, all men and women are Upāya and Prajñā in their ultimate nature.

In the Buddhist Tantras Prajñā has generally been designated either as the goddess (*bhagavatī*) or as the *Mudrā* (which technically refers to the woman to be adopted for the *Sādhana*), or the *Mahā-mudrā*, or the *Vajra-kanyā*, or as the young woman (*yuvatī*), or often as the female organ.¹ In the *Hevajra-tantra* Prajñā is called the mother (*jananī*), the sister (*bhaginī*), the washer-woman (*rajakī*), the dancing-girl (*nartakī*), the daughter (*duhitā*), the Doma-girl (*ḍombī*), etc. These names are sometimes explained very arbitrarily. It is said that Prajñā is called *jananī* because she gives birth to all the beings of the world; she is *bhaginī* as she shows

¹ In the *Vajra-sarasvatī-sādhana* of the *Sādhana-mālā* we find Prajñā styled as the goddess (*prajñāṃ bhagavatīm*, etc., p. 329). In the *Kanaka-varṇa-prajñā-pāramitā-sādhana* also Prajñā-pāramitā is said to be the *Bhagavatī* (p. 321). In the chapter on *Amanasikārādhāra* of the *Advaya-vajra-saṅgraha* we find *śūnyatā* described as the *Bhagavatī Prajñā* (p. 62). In the *Advaya-siddhi* Prajñā is styled as the goddess (MS. C.L.B., p. 36).

all the differences (*vibhāga*); she is *rajakī* because she pleases all the beings (*rañjanā*); she is *duhitā* as she accumulates all the qualities (*duhanāt*); she is *nartakī* because of her changing character; she is *ḍombī* (a woman of a very low untouchable class) because she cannot be touched.¹ In the commentary of Kṛṣṇācārya (*Hevajra-pañjikā* or *Yoga-ratna-mālā*) it has been explained that Prajñā is *jananī* because in the form of 'great-bliss' (*mahāsukha*) she gives birth to the world.² Again as the beginners cannot grasp her steadily, she is called *nartakī*.³ She is *asparśā* as she cannot be grasped by the senses.⁴

- ¹ *jananī bhanyate prajñā janayati yasmāt jagaj-janam |*
bhaginī'ti tathā prajñā vibhāgam darśayet yataḥ ||
rajakī'ti duhitā ca nartakī ca prakathyate |
rañjanāt sarva-sattvānām rajakī'ti tathā smṛtā ||
guṇasya duhanāt prajñā duhitā ca nigadyate |
nartakī bhanyate prajñā cañcalatvāt mahākṛpā |
asparśā bhavati yasmāt tasmāt ḍombī prakathyate ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 11317) p. 13(B).

These lines also occur in the *Sampuṭikā*. Cf. MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 4854) p. 4(A).

- ² *mahā-sukhā-kāreṇa viśvasya jananāt jananī |*

—MS. (Cambridge Add. No. 1699) p. 20(A).

- ³ *ādi-karmika-sattvair sṭhīrī-kartum āśakyatvāt nartakī |*

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 20(A).

- ⁴ *indriyāṇām agocaratvāt |*

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 20(A).

Here of course the designations of Prajñā as mother, sister, daughter, etc., have got some sort of metaphysical significance; but in other places the plain implication is that the mother, sister, daughter, or any woman of any caste, however low it may be, can be adopted as the Prajñā (or the woman) in the mystic practice.

mātaram bhaginīṅcaiva duhitām bāndhavīm tathā |
brāhmaṇīm kṣatriyīṅcaiva vaiśyām śūdrīṅīm tathā |
naṣṭīm rajakīm ca ḍombīm ca caṇḍālīṅīm tathā |
prajñā-pāya-vidhānena pūjayet tattvavatsalaḥ ||

—*Sampuṭikā*, MS. pp. 3(A), 3(B).

See also, *Prajñā-pāya-viniścaya-siddhi*, Ch. V, *Hevajra-tantra*, MS. pp. 12(A), 60(B); *Ekalla-vīra-caṇḍa-mahā-roṣaṇa-tantra*, MS. p. 8(B).

In justification of this action it is said, Prajñā is devoid of all thought-constructions and consequently she is above all the notions of differences; that being the case, for a Yogin there should not be any notion of difference among the mother, the sister, the daughter and any other girl even of the lowest caste. If there be any notion of distinction at all it is to be understood that the Yogin is not yet fully fit for the *Yoga*, for he has not obtained the *śūnyatā*-knowledge which effaces all such notions of distinction. It is therefore warned that the Prajñā should be carefully worshipped so that no notion of difference may arise at all—*sevitaṅgā*

In the *Śrīguhya-samāja-tantra* a beautiful girl of sixteen to be adopted in the practice is said to be the Prajñā.¹ Saraha-pāda in one place salutes all young women, who are described as the embodiment of Prajñā—who are like the wish-yielding creepers personified—who destroy all the sufferings (*kleśa*) of the three worlds.² In the *Hevajra-tantra* also the female is called the Prajñā whereas the male is called the Upāya.³ In the *Śrī-cakra-sambhāra-tantra* we find—‘Appearance, Method and great compassion are the male deity whilst the void, Prajñā, tranquillity and great bliss are the female deity’.⁴ In the *Jvālāvalī-vajramālā-tantra* it is said that the goddess Prajñā resides in all women and the Lord remains in all men.⁵ In the *Ekalla-vīra-caṇḍa-mahā-roṣaṇa-tantra* the Lord Caṇḍaroṣaṇa explains to the Lady that all men are of the nature of the Lord who is Upāya and all women are of the nature of the Lady who is Prajñā; and the whole world is of the nature of the unity of Prajñā and Upāya. As the son of Māyādevī Lord Buddha was the incarnation of Upāya and his wife Gopā was the incarnation of Prajñā or *Prajñā-pāramitā*—and Lord Buddha attained

prayatnena yathā bheda na jāyate, *Samputikā*, MS. p. 3(B); *Hevajra-tantra*, MS. p. 12(A); cf. also *Hevajra-pañjikā*, MS. pp. 17(B)—18(A); *Citta-viśuddhi-prakarṇa*, Verses 101-106. (Cf. *Śrī-guhyā-samāja*, Ch. V.)

¹ *śoḍaśā-bdikāṁ samprāpya yoṣitāṁ kānti-suprabhām |*
gandha-puṣpākulāṁ kṛtvā tasya madhye tu kāmayet ||
adhiveṣṭya ca tāṁ prajñāṁ etc.

—Paṭala IV, p. 19 (G.G.S.).

Cf. also: . . . : *yāṁ kāñcit svabhā-(va?) prajñā-rūpeṇa sarvā-laṅkṛta-gātra-trivalī-taraṇa-bhaṅgābhiraṁsa etc.*

—Quoted in the *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha*.

² *yāsāṁ ākṛtī aprapañca-vimāla-prajñāmayī sarvagā |*
sūkṣāt kalpa-lataiva tri-bhūṇa yāḥ kleśa-jeṣṭha-śchidāḥ
trī-maḍ-vajra-padā-ñkitā yuvatayas tābhyo namaḥ sarvataḥ ||

—Quoted in the *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha*.

³ *yoṣit tāvat bhavet prajñā upāyaḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ |*

—MS. p. 21(A).

Cf. also: *Ibid.*, MS. p. 39(B). Cf. also: *Sahaja-siddhi* of Dombī-Heruka.

—MS. (C.L.B.) p. 82.

Cf. also: *prajñā pravṛtṣayet tatra vajra-kanyām athānyapāt ||*

—*Ḍākārṇava*, p. 157 (*Sāhitya-pariṣat Edition*).

⁴ Translated from Tibetan by Kazi Dawasamdup, p. 28.

⁵ *sarvanārī-mayā devī sarvopāyamayaḥ prabhuh*

—MS. p. 14(B).

mahāsukha (supreme bliss) of the nature of *Nirvāṇa* in union with the *Prajñā Gopā*.¹

The *Pañca-krama* of *Nāgārjuna-pāda*, we have seen, speaks of four grades or stages in *śūnyatā*, of which the first is the *śūnyatā* and the second is *atisūnyatā*. *Śūnyatā* has been described as *Prajñā*² and it is also called the woman.³ *Atisūnya* is called *Upāya*,⁴ and the sex analogy is also there.⁵

In some places *Prajñā* is described as the female organ and *Upāya* as the male organ. *Prajñā* is called the female organ because it is the abode of all pleasure which is great bliss (*mahāsukha*).⁶ Again it is said that *Prajñā* is called *bhaga* as she breaks or obstructs all the afflictions.⁷ It can also be inferred that the female organ is called the *Prajñā*

¹ *māyādevī-sutaś cā'haṃ caṇḍa-roṣaṇatām gataḥ |*
tvam eva bhagavatī gopā prajñā-pāramitā-tmikā ||
yāvantas tu striyaḥ sarvās t(v)ad-rūpeṇaiva tā matāḥ |
mad-rūpeṇa pumāṃsas tu sarva eva prakīrtitāḥ ||
devayor bhāva-gataṃ caitat prajñā-pāyā-tmakam jagat |

—MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 9089) p. 16(B).

Cf. also: *narāḥ vajradharā-kārāḥ yoṣitaḥ vajra-yoṣitaḥ ||*

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 15(A).

² *ātokaṃ śūnyam prajñā ca cittam ca paratantrakam*

—MS. p. 20(A).

³ *strī-samjñā ca tathā proktā*, etc.

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 20(B).

⁴ *ālokā-bhāsam ity uktam atisūnyam upāyakam |*

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 20(B).

Cf. also: *prajñā-pāya-samāyogād iti śūnyam prajñā āloka iti yāvat/ati-*
śūnyam upāya ālokā-bhāsa iti yāvat/tayoh samāyogo' bhyāsaḥ.

—*Pañca-krama-ṭippanī*, MS. p. 43(B).

⁵ Cf. *rāgaś caiva virāgaś ca devayor antarita-trayam |*

deśīndriyasya samāpatyā vajra-padma-samāgamāt || etc.

—*Pañca-krama*, MS. p. 22(A).

⁶ Cf. *yena kleśo-panihanyate/prajñā-dhināś ca te kleśāḥ saukhyāt prajñā*
bhaga ucyate.

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS. p. 11(A).

Cf. also: *yoni-svabhācataḥ prajñā upāyo bhāva-lakṣaṇam ||*

—*Śrī-guhya-samāja-tantra*, p. 153.

Cf. *kha-dhātu-vajra-samāyogāt*, etc.

—*Kriyā-saṃgraha*, MS. p. 75(A).

bhañjanam bhagam ākhyātam kleśa-mārūdi-bhañjanāt |

prajñābadhyāt ca te kleśāś tasmāt prajñā bhagocyate ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*.

because all the beings have their birth from here as all the beings have their origin from the *Prajñā* or the *Śūnyatā*.¹

It is said in the *Hevajra-tantra*—'The lord is of the form of the seed while its pleasure is called the girl'.² These *Prajñā* and *Upāya* as the symbol of the female and the male organ are generally called the lotus and the thunder.³ We have seen before that *Vajra* is *śūnyatā*; it has also been extensively used as the synonym for the male organ. The use of the lotus as the symbol of the generating organ is rather well known, but the use of the *Vajra* for the male organ is rather technical. They are also technically called *bola* or *bolaka* and *kakkola* or *kakkolaka*.⁴

(E) *PRAJÑĀ-UPĀYA* AS *LALANĀ-RASANĀ*, LEFT AND RIGHT, VOWEL AND CONSONANT, ETC.

Prajñā and *Upāya* are also called *Lalanā* and *Rasanā* which are the names for the two nerves *Idā* and *Piṅgalā* well known in the Hindu Tāntric nerve-system. The nerve where the two nerves commingle is called the *Avadhūtī* which is again the middle nerve corresponding to the *Suṣumnā* nerve

¹ *dharmo-dayo-dbhavaṃ jñānaṃ kha-samaṃ sopāyā-neitam |*
trailokyas tatra jāto hi prajño-pāya-svarūpataḥ ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS. p. 23(B).

Cf. Comm. iha tan-mudrā-yogit-kamalaṃ dharmo-dayam |

² *śūkrā-kāro bhavet bhagavān tat-sukhaṃ kāmīnī smṛtam |*

—MS. p. 23(B). *Cf. also Heruka-tantra.*

³ *Cf. prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi*, p. 42; *strī-ndriyaṃ ca yathā padmaṃ vajraṃ puṃse-ndriyaṃ tathā |*

—*Jñāna-siddhi*, Ch. 2, Verse 11.

Cf. vajrā-bja-gharṣaṇāt prajño-pāya-samāpattyā. Comm. on Dohakoṣa of Kāśha.

Cf. also: Sahaja-siddhi of Dombī-pāda, quoted in the *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, p. 60; *Ghaṇṭā-pāṭya-pañcakrama*, quoted in the *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, p. 74; *Hevajra-tantra*, MS. p. 21(B). (*kha-dhātāciti padameṣu*); *Ḍākārṇava* (Ed. by Dr. N. Chaudhuri), p. 123; *Kriyā-saṃgraha*, MS. pp. 75(B), 76(A); *Śrī-guhyā-samāja-tantra*, pp. 25, 28; *Comm. on Marma-kalikā-tantra*, MS. (B.N. Sans. No. 83) p. 15(B).

Cf. also: kamala kulīśa mājhe bhaia miālī (cf. prajño-pāya-samatām, etc. Comm.), Caryā No. 47.

vāja nāva pāṭi pauṣ khāle vāhiu |—Caryā No. 49.

(*Cf. prajñā-ravinda-kuhara-hrade sad-guru-carāṇo-pāyena pravṛtītam, Comm.*)

⁴ *vajraṃ bolakaṃ khyātāṃ padmaṃ kakkolakaṃ mataṃ.*

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS. p. 44(A).

of the Hindu Tantras; and this nerve is regarded as the way to *nirvāṇa*. It has been said, ' *Lalanā* is of the nature of *Prajñā*, and *Rasanā* remains as *Upāya*, and *Avadhūtī* remains in the middle as the abode of *Mahāsukha*.'¹ We may note here that in the Hindu Tantras the nerve *Idā* which corresponds to the *Lalanā* and which is of the nature of the moon is said to be the Śakti and *Piṅgalā*, corresponding to the *Rasanā* and of the nature of the sun, is spoken of as the *Puruṣa* (the male principle).² Again these *Lalanā* and *Rasanā* are said to carry seed and ovum respectively.³ We may also notice that *Prajñā* has been called *vāma* (left) in the *Pañca-krama*⁴ and *Upāya* has been named *dakṣiṇa*

¹ *Sādhana-mālā*, p. 448.

Cf. also: *lalanā prajñā-svarūpeṇa rasano-pāya-saṁsthitā |*
tayor madhye gataṁ devī aṁkāraṁ viśva-rūpiṇī ||

—*Heruka-tantra*, MS. p. 74(B).

Cf. also: *lalanā prajñā-svabhāveṇa rasano-pāya-saṁsthitā |*
avadhūtī madhya-deśe tu grāhya-grāhaka-varjitā ||

—*Vajra-vārāhī-kalpa-mahā-tantra*, MS. p. 27(A).

Hevajra-tantra, MS. p. 3(a). *Heruka-tantra*, MS. p. 15(A).

lalanā rasanā nāḍī prajñā-pāyaś ca melakaḥ ||

—*Dākṛṇava* (Ed. MM. H. P. Śāstrī), p. 158.

² *vāmagā yā idā nāḍī śukla-candra-svarūpiṇī |*
śakti-rūpā hi sā devī sākṣāḍ amṛta-vigrahā ||
dakṣe tu piṅgalā nāma puruṣaḥ sūrya-vigrahakaḥ |
raudrātmikā mahādevī dāḍimi-keśara-prabhā ||

—*Sammohana-tantra* quoted in the *Ṣaṭcakra-nirūpaṇam*.

Ed. by A. Avalon.

³ Cf. also: *akṣobhya-vahā lalanā rasanā rakta-pracāhinī |*
avadhūty amita-nāthasya ādhāra-bhāveṇī sadā ||

—*Sādhana-mālā*, p. 448 (G.O.S.);

akṣobhya-vahā lalanā rasanā rakta-vāhinī |
tathā prajñā candra-vahā avadhūtī sā prakīrtitā ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS. p. 3(A);

teṣāṁ madhye sthitā nāḍī lalanā śukra-vāhinī |
dakṣiṇe rasanā khyātā nāḍī rakta-(pra)vāhinī ||

—*Heruka-tantra*, MS. p. 14(B).

Cf. *Vajra-vārāhī-kalpa-mahā-tantra*, MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 11285) p. 26(B). This MS., preserved in the R.A.S.B., seems to be substantially the same as the *Śrī-Dākṛṇava Mahāyoginī-tantrarāja* published with the *Apabhraṁśa Dohās* along with the *Caryāpadas* by MM. H. P. Śāstrī; but there are important additions and alterations.

We should note one important confusion here. *Lalanā* is said to be *Prajñā* but it is said to carry seed, whereas *Rasanā* which is said to be *Upāya* is said to carry ovum; but the statement ought to have been reversed to be consistent with the analogy of the Tāntric Buddhists.

⁴ *vāma-saṁjñāṁ punaścaiva etc.*—MS. p. 20(B);

(right),¹ and this *Lalanā* is also the nerve in the left side and *Rasanā* in the right side. Again *Prajñā* is often spoken of as the vowel or the vowel 'a' or the series of letters beginning with 'a' (*ālī*); and *Upāya*, in contrast, is spoken of as representing the consonants, or the letter 'ka' or the series beginning with the letter 'ka' (*kālī*). In the chapter on *Amanasikāra* of the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha* we find that the letter 'a' in the beginning of the word 'a-manasikāra' implies the non-organization of all that is imagined to be produced.² In justification of this interpretation it is cited from the *Mantra-patala* (second chapter of the first *kalpa*) of the *Hevajra-tantra* that as the letter 'a' is without beginning or origination, so also are all the *dharma*s—so the uncreate nature of the *dharma*s as the *śūnyatā* is represented by 'a'; *Prajñā* who is *śūnyatā* is, therefore, 'a'. About the nature of 'a' it has been said in the *Nāma-saṅgīti* that 'a' is the first of all the letters, it is full of deep significance, it is absolutely immutable—it is long—uncreate and free from all vocal modulations.³ 'A' is said to be the first and the most important of all the letters and all other letters are said to have evolved from this first letter 'a'. In the *Ekalla-vīra-caṇḍa-mahāroṣaṇa-tantra* we find that the vowel 'a' represents *Prajñā* and 'va' represents the *Upāya*.⁴ In the Hindu texts we often find that 'a' represents *Brahmā* or

¹ *dieṣa puruṣa-samjñā ca svarā-kāraśca dakṣiṇaḥ*.—MS. p. 21(A).

² P. 61 (G.O.S.).

³ *akāraḥ sarva-varṇāgro mahā-rītaḥ paramā-kṣaraḥ |*
mahā-prāṇo hy anutpādo vāg-udāhāra-varjitaḥ ||

—Quoted in the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha*, p. 62.

Cf. also: akāro mukhaṃ sarva-dharmāṇāṃ ādy-anutpannatecāt |

—*Kṛṣṇa-yāmārī-tantra* quoted in the *Catalogue of Sans. Buddhist MSs* R.A.S.B., Vol. 1, p. 149.

Again: *ādi-svara-svabhāvaḥ sō hīti buddhaiḥ prakalpitā |*
saiva bhagavatī prajñā utpanna-krama-yogataḥ ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS. p. 49(A).

⁴ *akāreṇā'kṣtrimam sahaja-svabhāvam uktam*
akāreṇocyate prajñā vakāreṇa hy upāyakam |
prajño-pāyaka-yogena lakṣa-sukha-lakṣaṇā ||

—MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 9089) p. 23(B).

the creator of the universe.¹ In the *Gītā* Lord Kṛṣṇa says that among the letters he is 'a'. So the fact of the letter 'a' being the representative of *Śūnyatā* is significant. Often it is seen that Prajñā or *Śūnyatā* is represented not merely by 'a' but by the vowels in general,² and is indicated by the general name *āli* (i.e., the vowel series beginning with 'a').³ In contrast with *āli*, representing Prajñā, *kāli* or the consonantal series represents Upāya. This Prajñā and Upāya or *āli* and *kāli* are then associated with the moon and the sun, or the night and the day respectively.⁴ In the *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* it has been said that the night is obtained through the consonants and the day through the vowels.⁵ Here in the Buddhist texts there is an inversion of the notion. But this in general may explain the association of *āli* with the moon or the night and of *kāli* with the sun or the day. *Lalanā* and *Rasanā* have also been associated with the moon and the sun, and they are said to be the two nerves flowing from the left and right of the nasal cavity.⁶

¹ *akāre liyate brahmā ukāre liyate hariḥ |*
makāre liyate rudraḥ praṇave hi paraḥ smṛtaḥ ||

² Cf. *Sādhana-mālā*, pp. 476, 557.

³ *prajñā'li kāly upāyeti*.—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 20(A).

Also: *kakāra ādir yasyā'sau kādiḥ kāliḥ, akāraḥ ādin yasyā'sau ādir āliḥ* |—*Marma-kalikā-tantra*, MS. (B.N. Sans. No. 83), pp. 9(A) and 9(B).

āli akārā-di-ṣoḍaśa-svarān tathā tenaiiva krameṇa kāli kakārā-di-hakāra-paryantam |—MS., p. 53(A.) Again, *akārā-dir āliḥ kakārā-diḥ kāliḥ*.—*Hevajra-pañjikā*, MS., p. 6(A).

⁴ *sthītā-liś candra-rūpeṇa kālī-rūpeṇa bhāskaraḥ |*
candra-sūrya-dvayor-mela gauryādyās te prakīrtitāḥ ||
prajñā-li kāly upāye'ti candrā-rkasya prabhedaṇāt |

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 20(A).

candra-sūrya-parāgeṣu prajñā-vajra-prayogataḥ |
vilīne advaye jñāne buddhatvam iha-janmani ||

—Quoted in the *Sudhāṣita-saṃgraha*, p. 70.

⁵ *vyāñjanair eva rātrir āpnucanti svarair ahani |*

—*Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* (II 2, 4).

Quoted by Dr. P. C. Bagchi in his *Studies in the Tantras*, p. 73.

⁶ Cf. *lalanā rasanā ravi-sasi tudia veṇṇa vi pāse |*

—*Dohakoṣa* of Kāṇhu-pāda, verse No. 5.

Cf. also: the comm. *lalanā-labdenā'liḥ prajñā-candro vidhīyate | tasya vāma-nāsāpuṭa-svabhāvas tena prāṇa-pravāhiṇī lalanā sthitā | rasanā-labdena kālī-rūpā . . . etc.*—MS., B.N. Sans. No. 47, p. 40(B).

Again Prajñā has been said to be the syllable 'e' and Upāya the syllable 'viṃ'. In the *Sādhana-mālā* we find that Prajñā should be meditated on as the syllable 'e'.¹ It is said in the *Samputikā*, "Prajñā is said to be 'e' while Upāya is the syllable 'vaṃ'; and this 'e' shines only when it is adorned with 'vaṃ'."² In the *Hevajra-tantra* and in many other Tantras it is said, "That divine 'e' which is adorned in the middle with the *vajra* is the abode of all bliss or happiness—it is the abode of all the gems of the Buddhas; all joy, qualified by the moments, is produced there; when one is established in this *e-vaṃ-kāra* one realizes bliss through the knowledge of the moments."³ In the *Dohākoṣa* of Kāṇhu-pāda it has been said, 'He who has understood *e-vaṃ-kāra* has understood everything completely.'⁴ This 'e' has again been called the mother and the 'vaṃ' the father and the *bindu* is produced by their union. Again, 'e' is the Prajñā and 'vaṃ' is the Lord in sex-intercourse, and the *bindu* is the immutable knowledge proceeding from their union.⁵ This 'e' and 'vaṃ' have also been associated with the moon and the sun. But in explaining the well-known introductory line of the *Saṅgīti* literature, viz., *evaṃ mayā śrutam*, etc., the *Samputikā* explains *evaṃ* rather in a different way. It is said there that by 'e' is to

¹ *sva-dhātau cintayet dhīman prajñām ekāra-rūpiṇīm* |—P. 444.

² *ekāreṇa smṛtā prajñā vaṅkāraś cā'py upāyakam |*
vaṅkāra-bhūṣitaś cā'sāv ekārah śobhate dhruvam |
adho-rddhva-samāpattyā prajño-pāya-svabhāvataḥ ||

—MS., p. 10(A).

³ *ekārā-kṛti yad dīvyam madhye vaṅkāra-bhūṣitam |*
ālayam sarva-saukhyānām buddha-ratna-karaṇḍakam ||
ānandās tatra jāyante kṣaṇa-bhedena-bheditāḥ |
kṣaṇa-jñānāt sukha-jñānam evaṅkāre pratiṣṭhitam ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., pp. 38(B), 39(A).

⁴ *evaṅkāra je bujjhā te bujjhā saala aśeṣa* |—*Dohā*, 21.

Cf. the comm. *evaṅkāra iti śūnyatā-karuṇā-bhīṇa-rūpiṇī mahā-mudrā ittham evaṅkāram* |

⁵ *ekāras tu bhavet(m) mātā vakāras tu pitā smṛtaḥ |*
bindus tatra bhaved yogaḥ sa yogaḥ paramā-kṣaraḥ ||
ekāras tu bhavet prajñā vakārah suratā-dhīpaḥ |
binduś cā'nāhataṁ jñānam taj-jātāny akṣarāṇi ca ||

—*Devendra-pariprocā-tantra*, collected in the *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha*. (Bendall's Edition), p. 76.

be understood the earth which is *Karma-mudrā*, also known as *Locanā*; she is of the nature of great compassion and great expedience—she is of the form of the whole universe and is known to the whole universe; she resides in the *Nirmāṇa-cakra* in the lotus in the navel. *Vaṃ* implies water representing the *Dharma-mudrā* or the goddess *Māmakī*; she is of the nature of universal love and concentration and resides in the *Dharma-cakra* in the heart in a lotus of eight petals.¹ We find this interpretation also in the *Hevajra-pañjikā* of Kṛṣṇācārya.² But in offering another alternative meaning of the line *evaṃ mayā śrutam*, etc., the *Hevajra-pañjikā* says that by 'e' is meant the female organ while by 'va' is meant the male organ; by *mayā* is meant the sex-activity and by *śrutam* is implied the double nature of the *sādhana* (*viz.*, *saṃvṛta* and *vivṛta*). The commentator further explains that the male is of the nature of the seed, while

¹ Again *ma* (of *mayā*) is fire, *Mahā-mudrā*, *Pāṇḍarā* is the *Sambhoga-cakra* in the throat; *yā* means air, *Samaya-mudrā*, goddess *Karmakulā* in the *Mahāsukha-cakra*, etc.

Cf. *ekāraṃ pṛthivī jñeyā karma-mudrā tu locanā |*
mahā-kṛpā mahopāyā viśva-rūpā viśva-gocarā |
sthitā nirmāṇa-cakre vai nābhau viśva-paṅkaje ||
vaṃ-kāraṃ tu jalam jñeyam dharma-mudrā tu māmakī |
maitrī-praṇidhi-rūpā tu devī vajra-mukhe sthitā |
dharma-cakre tu hṛdaye aṣṭa-dalāmbuje ||
ma-kāraṃ vahnir uddiṣṭo mahāmudrā tu pāṇḍarā |
muditā-bala-yogena devī padma-kulodbhavā |
sthitā sambhoga-cakre tu kaṇṭhe devy-aṣṭa-dalā-mbujē ||
yā-kāraṃ vāyu-rūpastu sarva-kleśa-prabhañjakah |
mahā-samaya-mudrā vai devī karma-kulā mukhyā |
upekṣā jñāna-yogena tārā saṃsāra-tāriṇī ||

—*Samputikā*, MS., p. 10(A).

² *ekārah pṛthivī jñeyā karma-mudrā tu locanā |*
catuḥṣaṣṭi-dale nābhau sthitā nirmāṇa-cakrā |
vaṃ-kārastu jalam jñeyam dharma-mudrā tu māmakī |
saṃsthitā tu dharma-cakre śuddha-divyā-ṣṭa-dalā-mbujē ||
śrutam sahaṃ ityuktam dvaidhā-bheda-bheditam |
saṃvṛtam devatā-kāram utpatti-krama-pakṣataḥ |
vivṛtiḥ sva-svarūpan tu niṣpanna-krama-pakṣataḥ |
satya-dvayam saṃśritya buddhānām dharma-deśanā ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*; see *Hevajra-pañjikā*, MS., p. 2(B).

But *cf.* also:

ekāreṇa locanā devī vaṃkāreṇa māmakī smṛtā |
makāreṇa pāṇḍarā ca yākāreṇa ca taruṇī ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 4(A).

the pleasure is the female—they represent the *Dharma-kāya* and *Sambhoga-kāya* and both of them are combined in the nature of the Lord (*vajra-dharā*). Thus 'e' and 'va' are the two aspects of the Lord; they are also called *saṃvṛta* and *vivṛta* which again correspond to the *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* or *Prajñā* and *Upāya*.¹

It is needless to say that many of these derivations and interpretations are merely arbitrary and they are introduced to demonstrate some purely sectarian view. It is for this reason that in the *Marmakalikā-tantra* and in the *Hevajra-pañjikā* all the alternative interpretations are called 'sectarian interpretations' (*sampradāya-vyākhyā*). Thus the verse—

caṇḍālī jvalitā nābhau dahati pañca-tathāgatān |
*dahati ca locanādīnām dagdhe huṃ sravate śāśī ||*²

has got as many as five interpretations. In the first interpretation *ālī* has been explained as the wind blowing through the left nasal passage and *kālī* as the wind blowing through the right.³ Again *caṇḍā* means *Prajñā* as she is very terrible (*caṇḍā*) in destroying all sorts of afflictions; and *ālī* here means *Vajra-sattva*.⁴ Again *caṇḍā* is *Prajñā* who is *aṃ*; and *ālī* is *Vajra-sattva* who is *kram*.⁵ Again *caṇḍā* is *Prajñā* which is the left nerve, while *ālī* is *Upāya* or the right nerve.⁶ Again *caṇḍā* is *Prajñā* which is discriminative knowledge

¹ *ekāraṃ bhagam ityuktaṃ vaṃkāraṃ kulisaṃ smṛtam |*
mayeti cālenaṃ proktaṃ śrutaṃ yat tad deidhāmatam ||
tathā ca vākṣyati |
śukrā-kāro bhaved bhagavān tat-sukhaṃ kāmīnī smṛtam |
dharma-sambhoga-rūpatvaṃ vajra-dharasya lakṣaṇam ||
tathā ca
saṃvṛtaṃ kumkuma-saṃkṣāṇaṃ vivṛtaṃ sukha-rūpiṇam |
ity anena hi vākyena śūnyatā-karuṇā-svabhāvaṃ prajñā-pāya-svabhāvaṃ
dharma-sambhoga-kāya-svabhāvaṃ |

—MS., p. 2(A).

² *Hevajra-tantra*—MS., p. 4(B).

³ *ālīr vāma-nāsā-puta-prabhavo vāyuh tadaparah kālīh |*

—*Hevajra-pañjikā*, MS., p. 9(B).

⁴ *caṇḍā prajñā kleśa-pakleśa-niṣkarantane (?) caṇḍa-svabhāvatvāt ālīr*
vajra-sattvāh |—*Ibid.*, MS., p. 9(B).

⁵ *caṇḍā prajñā aṃkārah/ālīr vajra-sattvāh kram-kārah |*

—*Ibid.*, MS., p. 10(A).

⁶ *caṇḍā prajñā vāṃ nāḍī / ālī-rūpa upāyo dakṣiṇa-nāḍī |*

—*Ibid.*, MS., p. 10(A).

about the transcendental nature of origination and the originated ; while *āli* is the mind full of universal compassion.¹ Here in these interpretations it is very easy to notice that *āli* has been explained as *Upāya* which contradicts the interpretation of all the Tantras including the *Hevajra-tantra* (of which the *Hevajra-pañjikā* is the commentary) ; *āli* has also been said to be *kram* (while *caṇḍā* is *aṁ*), which also is self-contradictory.

(iii) *Advaya* (non-duality) and *Yuganaddha*
(Principle of Union)

A study of the above speculations on the nature of the Bodhicitta will bring it home to us that the central point of all the *Sādhana* of the Tāntric Buddhists was a principle of union. The synthesis or rather the unification of all duality in an absolute unity is the real principle of union, which has been termed as *Yuganaddha*. This principle of *Yuganaddha* is clearly explained in the fifth chapter (*Yuganaddha-krama*) of the *Pañca-krama*. There it is said that when a state of unity is reached through the purging of the two notions of the creative process (*saṁsāra*) and absolute cessation (*nirvṛtti*), it is called *Yuganaddha*. When the transcendental nature of both phenomenal (*saṁkleśa*) and the absolutely purified (*vyavadāna*) realities is realized and the two become unified into one, it is called the *Yuganaddha*. Again, when the Yogin is able to synthesize the thought-constructions of all corporeal existence with the notion of the formlessness, he can be said to have known the principle of *Yuganaddha*. Thus the text goes on explaining that the real principle of *Yuganaddha* is the absence of the notion of duality as the perceivable (*grāhya*) and the perceiver (*grāhaka*) and their perfect synthesis in an unity ; it is the absence of the notions of eternity and limitation and is their synthesis in an unity. Where there is no notion of extinction with some residual substratum (*sopādhi-śeṣaḥ*) or extinction without any residu-

¹ *caṇḍā prajñā utpatty-utpanna-krama-sambandhinām vicārah' / āli mahā-karunāmaya-cittam* [—*Ibid.*, MS., p. 10(B).

um (*anupādhi-śeṣaḥ*), i.e., no notion of the non-essentialness of the *dharma*s (*dharmā-nairātmya*) or of the self (*pudgalā-nairātmya*)—that is what is called the *Yuganaddha*;—for, the very nature of *Yuganaddha* involves its freedom from all kinds of thought-constructions. To realize through constant practice the truth of both *svādhiṣṭhāna* (which is the third *śūnyatā* as self-establishment or the universalization of the self) and the resplendent (*prabhāsvara*, which is the fourth or the final stage as *sarva-śūnya*) and then to unite them—this is *Yuganaddha*. To enter into the final abode of 'thatness' in body, word and mind and thence again to rise up and turn to the world of miseries—that is what is called *Yuganaddha*. To know the nature of *saṃvṛti* (the provisional truth) and the *paramārtha* (the ultimate truth) and then to unite them together—that is real *Yuganaddha*. Where the mind does neither lose itself in the absolute 'thatness', nor does it rise up in the world (of activity)—that immutable state of the Yogin is called the state of *Yuganaddha*. Here there is neither affirmation nor denial, neither existence nor non-existence, neither non-remembering (*asmṛti*=non-subjectivity through the absence of the *vāsanās*) nor remembering (*smṛti*), neither affection (*rāga*) nor non-affection (*arāga*), neither the cause nor the effect, neither the production (*utpatti*) nor the produced (*utpanna*), neither purity nor impurity, neither anything with form, nor anything without form; it is but a synthesis of all these dualities—that is what is meant by the principle of *Yuganaddha*. A Yogin thus placed in *Yuganaddha* is called the omniscient, the seer of the truth, the support of the universe;—he escapes the snare of illusion by attaining perfect enlightenment,—he crosses the sea of birth and death,—he attains non-dual knowledge and eternal tranquillity. This in fact is perfect enlightenment (*buddhātva*),—this is what is meant by becoming a *Vajrasattva*,—this is the way to attain all power and wealth. This stage is called the absorption in the *Vajropama* (or thunder-like) meditation,—the *niṣpanna-krama* or the absolute state, or the absorption in the *Māyopama* (illusion-like) meditation, or it is called the non-dual truth (*advaya-tattva*). Words

like 'uncreate', 'non-dual', etc., all refer to this. In this way the Buddhas, whose number is innumerable like the sand on the bank of the Ganges, attained perfection, a stage neither real nor unreal. This principle of *Yuganaddha* should be meditated as well as practised, and in such a stage, the mind being absolutely free from the notion of all sorts of duality, there remains no distinction between the self and the enemy, no distinction of caste or relation; there is no distinction in his mind between cloth and skin, gem and husk,—the scent of camphor or any other bad scent, praise and calumny, day and night, dream and perception, the ruined or the surviving, pleasure and pain, evil and good, hell and heaven, merit and demerit.¹

In the *Yuganaddha-prakāśa* of the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha* it has been said about the principle of union that the nature of the union of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* is incomprehensible; void and manifestation always remain in union by nature. In the *Sādhana-mālā* it is said that the one body of the ultimate nature as the unity of both *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* is called the neuter or often as the *Yuganaddha*.² This Yuga-

¹ *samsāra-nireṣṭiśceti kalpanā-deśya-varjanāt |*
ekī-bhāvo bhavet yatra yuganaddham tad ucyate ||
saṃkleśaṃ vyavadānaṃca jñāte tu paramārthataḥ |
ekī-bhāvaṃ tu yo vetti sa vetti yuganaddhakam ||
sākāra-bhāva-saṃkalpaṃ nirākāratea-kalpanām |
ekī-kṛtya caret yogī sa vetti yuganaddhakam ||
grāhyaṃ ca grāhakaṃ caiva deidhā-buddhir na vidyate |
abhinnaṭā bhavet yatra tadāha yuganaddhakam ||
śāśvate cheda-buddhistu yaḥ prahāya pravartate |
yuganaddha-kramā-khyam vai tattvaṃ vetti sa paṇḍitaḥ ||
prajñā-karuṇayor aikyam jñā(nam) yatra pravartate |
yuganaddha iti khyātaḥ kramo'yaṃ buddha-gocaraḥ ||
prajñā-pāya-samāpattya jñāte sarvaṃ samāsataḥ |
yatra sthito mahāyogī tad bhavet yuganaddhakam ||
ity evaṃ kalpanā nā'sti tat taddhi yuganaddhakam ||
yatra pudgala-nairātmya(m) dharma-nairātmyam ity api |
kalpanayā viciktateṃ yuganaddhasya lakṣaṇam ||
jñāte karmena tatteajñāḥ seḍhiṣṭhāna-prabhāṣaṇam |
tayor eva samājam yad yuganaddha-kramo hy ayam || eto.

—Vide *Pañca-krama*.

² *ekas seḍbhāvikas kāyaś śūnyatā-karuṇā-deśyaḥ |*
napuṃsakam iti khyāto yuganaddha iti kvacit ||

—*Sādhana-mālā*, Vol. II, pp. 5, 505.

naddha is called *Advaya*, it is the Bodhicitta,¹ it is the Dharma-kāya.²

The conception of *maithuna* (conjugal intercourse) or *kāma-kalā* (as it is called in the *Kāma-kalā-vilāsa*) of the Śaiva or Śākta Tantras refers to the same principle. In the *Kāma-kalā-vilāsa* we find the principle very clearly explained. Śiva or Maheśa is pure illumination (*prakāśa-mātra-tanu*) or the abstract self-shining thought with all the principles of activity contracted within him (*antarlīna-vimarśaḥ*); Śakti is the principle of activity or the inherent activity of thought (*vimarśa* or *kriyā-śakti*) and she contains the seed of the future words (*bhāvi-carā-cara-bījam*). Śiva, however, realizes himself through the Śakti, and therefore it is said that Śiva is the form or beauty which is to be reflected in the clear-looking glass of *vimarśa*.³ The philosophical implication seems to be that pure abstract thought cannot realize its own nature unless it comes back to itself through its own activity, and when it thus turns back to itself through *vimarśa* it becomes the 'Egohood'. Thus at first there is pure thought-illumination (*prakāśa*), then the activity (*vimarśa*) and by their union is produced *ahamkāra* or the 'Egohood'. This principle of 'Egohood' is called the 'mass produced through the union of Śiva and Śakti' (*śiva-śakti-mithuna-piṇḍa*).⁴ We have already indicated that this Śiva is thought of as the white matter (*sita-bindu*) and the Śakti as the red-matter (*śoṇa-bindu*), and if we are to expand the analogy, it comes to this, that just as all production is through the commingling of the seed and the ovum, through the union of the male and the female, so this 'Egohood' is the son, as it were, produced through the union of the Śiva and Śakti.⁵ This Śiva is the Kāma (he who is

¹ *etad adeśyam ity uktam bodhicittam idam param |*

—*Ibid.*, p. 17.

² *Sekoddeśa-ṭikā* (G.O.S.), p. 57.

³ *śiva-rūpa-vimarśa-nirmalā-darśaḥ ||*

Kāma-kalā-vilāsa, Verse 2. Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies,

No. XII.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Verse 5.

⁵ *Kāma-kalā-vilāsa*, Comm. on Verse 7.

desirable) and the Śakti is the *kalā*¹ and their union is the *Kāma-kalā*.

The principle of union is often illustrated in the Buddhist Pantheon by the representation of many of the gods embracing their consorts or female counter-parts. The Lord Supreme as the *Vajra-sattva* or the *Vajra-dhara* is often represented as embracing his consort variously called as the *Vajra-dhātviśvarī* of *Vajra-vārāhī* or *Prajñā* or *Prajñā-pāramitā* or *Nairātmā*. Lord Heruka in the *Heruka-tantra* is represented as filled with erotic emotion (*śṛṅgāra-rasa-samanvitam*) and deeply embracing his consort *Vajra-vairocanī* in great joy of compassion (*karuṇā-mahotsava*).² In the *Śrī-cakra-sambhāra-tantra* the Lord is depicted as embracing *Vajra-vārāhī* who clings to him (in sexual union) and who is red in colour (red colour of love). To illustrate the principle of union they are depicted as in sexual union touching at all points of contact.³ In the *Sādhana-mālā* we find that Heruka, as embraced by his *Prajñā*, represents the knowledge of the non-dual union.⁴ Lord Ādi-Buddha embraced by his *Prajñā* is said to be the non-dual (*advaya*) truth.⁵ In many of the *Sādhānas* we find that the god to be worshipped is to be meditated on as in union with or deeply embraced by his female consort and as enjoying great bliss.⁶ We have seen that the five Tathāgatas or the Dhyānī-Buddhas, viz., Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Amitābha, Ratna-sambhava and Amogha-siddhi, have their female consorts *Vajradhātviśvarī*, *Locanā*, *Māmakī*, *Pāṇḍarā* and *Āryatārā*, and these Dhyānī Buddhas or Tathāgatas are generally described with their own consorts or Śaktis. Earlier we have referred to the fact that many of the Buddhist gods of Nepal and Tibet are depicted in *yab-yum* or in union. Often the god holds the *yum* (the female) on his knee in the archaic

¹ *Ibid.*, Comm., on Verse 7.

² *Heruka-tantra*—MS., (R.A.S.B. No. 11279) p. 31.

³ *Śrī-cakra-sambhāra-tantra*, pp. 27, 29.

⁴ *advaya-yoga-jñānaṁ tu prajñā-liṅgita-herukam* |

—Vol. II (G.O.S.), p. 508.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 505.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 491, 500, 502, 529, 582, 587, 589, etc.

manner of Śiva holding Pārvatī or Umā. Thus Avalokiteśvara is often depicted as holding his Śakti on the knee.

Most of the Buddhist Tantras are *Saṅgīti* in type and the Lord Supreme as the Bhagavān Buddha or the Lord Vajra-sattva or Vajra-dhara is depicted as preaching these principles of *Sādhana* in an assembly of the Buddhas, Bodhi-sattvas, Tathāgatas and others; but sometimes we see that the Lord Supreme is not preaching in the assembly, but is depicted as explaining the principles of esoteric practices by way of answering the questions of goddess Nairātmā or Vajra-vārāhī or simply Vārāhī, who, out of compassion for the suffering beings, puts all sorts of questions as to the secrets of the practices through which all beings may attain liberation. In the *Hevajra-tantra* we see that goddess Nairātmā, deeply moved by the miseries of the beings, is entreating the Lord to explain all the secrets through which the suffering world may be delivered. The Lord is moved by her request; he kisses her and caresses and coaxes her in deep embrace and explains to her all the secrets of Yoga through which all beings may be liberated.¹ In one place, however, goddess Nairātmā asks the Lord to explain what is meant by their Cakra. The Lord replies that it is a place with four corners and four doors decked with *Vajra*-threads; within it remains the Lord with the Lady in deep passion of the nature of Sahaja-bliss; and from their union proceed all the goddesses in all the quarters.² The *Vajra-vārāhī-kalpa-māhā-tantra*,³ the *Ekalla-vīra-caṇḍa-mahā-roṣaṇa-tantra*,⁴ etc., are written

¹ Cf. *kapāla-mālinam vīram nairātmā-śliṣṭa-kandharam |*
pañca-mudrā-dharam devam nairātmā prcchati svayam ||
asmac-cakram teyā kathitam pañca-daśa-parivāritam |
'ad idam maṇḍalam kīḍṣk prāk na jñātam mayā prabho ||
cumbayitvā tu nairātmām kṣiptvā vajram kakkolake |
mardayitvā stanam devo maṇḍalam samprakāśate ||

Hevajra-tantra, MS, p. 55(B).

prcchati tatra sū devī vajra-pūjā-prayogataḥ |
tatkṣaṇam kīḍṣo deva kathayassa mahāprabho ||

—*Ibid.*, MS, p. 61(A).

Cf. also: pp. 61(B), 62(A), 69(A), 69(B), etc.

² *Ibid.*, MS, pp. 55(B)-56(A).

³ R.A.S.B., MS, No. 11285.

⁴ R.A.S.B., MS, No. 9089.

entirely as dialogues between the Lord and the Lady in exactly the same manner as described above. We have noted before that in the *Ekalla-vīra-caṇḍa-mahā-roṣaṇa-tantra* the Lord says that in the form of the unity of the four kinds of bliss, free from all notions of existence and non-existence—as the principle of non-phenomenalism, he resides in all men; while the Lady replies that she also, in the form of the unity of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*, as the 'non-construct' bliss, resides in all women.¹ It may be noted that the Hindu Tantras are also generally introduced by way of a dialogue between Lord Śiva and his Śakti Pārvatī; there also, Pārvatī (who is the mother of the world as Prajñā also is), out of deep compassion for the beings, asks the Lord about the path through which the beings may be liberated, and in way of replying to the questions of Pārvatī Lord Śiva explains to her all the secrets of Yoga. It is indeed very hazardous to postulate on the basis of this similarity of form in the Buddhist and the Hindu Tantras any theory concerning the priority of the one to the other; it is, nevertheless, to be admitted that the resemblance is striking, and in later time with the gradual decay of Buddhism and the revival of Hinduism the Buddhist Lord Supreme with his female counter-part could very easily conceal himself behind the Hindu god Śiva with his Śakti Pārvatī or Gaurī or Durgā. This confusion between the two pairs of the Hindu and Buddhist divinities is palpable in the Hindu-Buddhist vernacular literature of India.

¹ *bhāve-bhāve-vinirmuktaś catur-ānandaika-tatparaḥ |*
niṣprapañca-svarūpo'haṁ sarva-saṁkalpa-varjitaḥ ||
mām na jñāti ye mūḍhāḥ sarva-puṁ-vapuṣi sthitaḥ |
teṣāṁ ahaṁ hitā-rthāya pañcā-kāreṇa saṁsthitaḥ ||
atha bhagavatī deveṣa-vajrī samādhim āpadye'dam udājahāra,—
śūnyatā-karuṇā-bhinnā deya-kāma-sukha-sthitā |
sarva-kalpa-vihīnā'haṁ niṣprapañcā nirākulā ||
mām na jñanti ye nāryaḥ sarva-stri-deha-saṁsthitāḥ |
tāṁ ahaṁ hitā-rthāya pañcā-kāreṇa saṁsthitāḥ |
atha bhagavān kṣṇācano (?) gūḍhena bhagavatī-deveṣavajrīm
cumbayitvā samāliṅgya cā'mantrayate sma |
devī devī mahā-ramyaṁ rahasyaṁ cā'ti-durlabham | etc.

The Buddhist Tāntric literature of the Saṅgīti class (*i.e.*, where Lord Buddha himself is depicted as the preacher of the truth contained in the body of the book) invariably begins with the sentence—*evam mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-hṛdaya-vajra-yoṣit-bhageṣu vijahāra*. The general meaning of the sentence is—'It is heard by me that once upon a time, the Lord sported in the heart of super-human knowledge arising out of the body, speech and mind of all the Tathāgatas'. But the line has been explained in various ways in various Tantras and their commentaries. Of course, as pointed out before, in many cases the interpretation is absolutely sectarian and as such purely arbitrary. The word *bhaga* may be (and has often been) explained to mean the six super-human qualities, *viz.*, all sovereignty (*aiśvarya*), energy (*vīrya*), fame (*yaśas*), beauty (*śrī*), knowledge (*jñāna*) and detachment (*vairāgya*); and taking the word *bhaga* in this sense the above line may be explained in the following way; the lord shone in bliss in the transcendental qualities belonging to the body, speech and mind of the Tathāgatas. But the *Guhya-siddhi* of Padmavajra says—'There is renowned Prajñā who is divine and who sanctions all fulfilment; that which remains in her is called the syllable *bhaga*,—that is the pure truth; and I have worshipped it from the standpoint of the absolute.'¹ Here it seems that the truth (*tattva*) that remains in union with Prajñā is the Lord himself. Thus the aphorism (*evam mayā*, etc.) means that the Lord remains in union with Prajñā in the form of the *tattva*. Again it is said, that the Lord of mind is the *bhagavān* and Prajñā is the *Vajra-yoṣit* (the adamant woman), and there (in the *Vajra-yoṣit*) sported the Lord in the form of great bliss.² Again it is said,

¹ *sthitā siddhi-pradā divyā nāmnā prajñe'ti vīrutā |*
tasyām vyavasthitam yat tad bhagam ity akṣara-dvayam |
tan mayā śuddha-tattvā-khyam sevitam paramārthataḥ ||
 —*Guhya-siddhi*, MS. p. 9.

² *bhagavān iti nirdeṣṭam cittasyā'dhipatiḥ prabhuh |*
vajra-yoṣit smṛtā prajñā yā sā savajrīṇā-tmakā ||

vijahāra tataḥ śrīmān śrī-mahāsukha-vajrīṇaḥ ||
 —*Ibid.*, p. 17.

that all non-constructive and universal knowledge, condensed into a mass, is the void-element in the form of the *bhaga*.¹

This void-element or *śūnyatā* is the Prajñā ; and the Prajñā is depicted as the eternal and infinite object of joy of the Lord of elements (*Bhūta-nātha*); she is pure in the beginning, in the middle and in the end,—and she comes from *Vajra*-knowledge and remains as *Samvṛtti* (provisional or phenomenal); she is known also as *karma-mudrā* ; and moved by her kindness towards the beings she condescends to take human forms (as women).²

In spite of the above we may say that whatever might have been the original meaning of the epithet *vajra-yoṣit-bhaga*, it began to be taken in later times in its sense as the female organ ; and the Lord (representing Lord Buddha), instead of being conceived as preaching in the assembly of the adept, began to be conceived as dallying with Prajñā or his female counterpart and this will be confirmed by the manner in which the dialogues of the *Dākārṇava* (ed. by MM. H. P. Śāstrī) are introduced.³

... ¹ *nirvikalpaka-sarvajña-jñānaṁ pinḍīkṛtaṁ tu yat |*
sarva(ṁ) yat bhagam ākāra-rūpeṇa tat kha-dhātum iti smṛtam |
—*Ibid.*, p. 17.

² *yā sā śrī-bhūta-nāthasya mud(r)ā parama-śāśvatī |*
nāmnā prajñe'ti vikhyātā ādi-madhyā-nta-nirmalā |
sthītā samvṛtti-rūpeṇa tu vajra-jñāna-sambhava |
karma-mudre'ti vikhyātā sattvā-nugraha-hetunā |
nānuṣṭi tanum āśrītya sarva-sattva-hitaishinī |
—*Ibid.*, p. 14.

³ The text begins with the line—*evam mayā śrūtam ekasmin samaye bhagavān mahā-vīre-śvara(h) sarva-tathāgata-vīra-kāya-cāk-citta-yoginī-bhageṣu kṛṣṭitavān*. Then the Mahāvireśvara begins to narrate his experiences in the *mahāsukha-samādhi*; but the goddess Vārāhī interferes and puts questions to the Lord and the Lord goes on replying to her questions and removing all her doubts. *Dākārṇava* (Śāstrī), p. 135.

Again:

saṁśayaṁ sarvaṁ atraiva kiṁ rahasyā-dī-cākyakam |
kathayantu mama svāmī sattvānām upakāṛakam ||
tuṣṭāmy ahaṁ mahādevī sattva-pakāra-hetukam |
kathayāmi samāseṇa śṛṇveṣkāgrata-cetasā ||

—*Ibid.*, p. 137.

(iv) *Rāga (Affection) and Mahārāga (Great Affection).*

Another factor to be noticed in esoteric Buddhism is the conception of *rāga* which ordinarily means deep attachment. In the *Samputikā* it has been said,—‘Neither attachment (*rāga*) nor detachment (*virāga*), nor any intermediate stage is perceived; here the nature of *rāga* is attachment and the nature of *virāga* is arrest (*nirodha*)’.¹ The word *rāga* is also used for *karuṇā*. In the *Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi* it is said that *kṛpā* or compassion is called *rāga* because it makes happy (*rañjati*) or saves (*rakṣati*) all the beings who are deeply immersed in the sea of sorrow. In the *Jvālāvalī-vajramālā-tantra* we find the word *rāga* used for *Upāya*.² But gradually the word began to acquire the meaning of intense and transcendental bliss arising out of the sexo-yogic practice, which is the means or the expedient (*upāya*) for attaining the Bodhicitta or the Sahaja which is of the nature of great bliss (*mahāsukha*). In the *Kriyā-saṁgraha* it is said that the nectar-like Bodhicitta is to be meditated on as melting through *mahārāga*.³ In the *Hevajra-tantra* also we find

¹ *na rāgo na virāgaś ca madhyamā no’palabhyate |
tatra rāga āsakti-lakṣaṇo virāgo nirodhaś matam |*

—*Samputikā*, Ms. p. 10(B).

See also *Hevajra-tantra*, MS. p. 22(B).

Cf. also: *Vajra-ḍāka-tantra* quoted in the *Catalogue of Sans. Buddhist MSS.*, R.A.S.B., Vol. I, p. 100.

Cf. also: *na rāgo na virāgaś ca madhyamā no’palabhyate |
trayāṇāṁ varjanād eva sahaajā sambodhir ucyate ||*

—*Buddha-kapāla-tantra-ṭīkā* of Abhayakara Gupta.

—MS. (R.A.S.B., No. 3827) p. 38.

² *yuganaddha-mahārāgaś sthito yatra saprajñakāḥ |*

—MS. p. 19(B).

³ *mahā-rāgeṇa dravībhūta(m) bodhicitta-rūpā-mṛti-bhutaś cintayet |*

—MS. B. N. Sans. No. 31, p. 12(B).

In the commentary of the *Marmakalikā-tantra* *rāga* has been explained as the nine emotions (*rasa*) beginning with *Śṛṅgāra*; *sānurāgam iti śṛṅgārā-di-nava-reasa-sahitam*/ MS. B. N. Sans. No. 83, p. 36(A). In the Commentary of the fifth Dohā of the *Dohākosa* of Kāṇha-pāda the word *surāa-vīra* has been explained in the following manner,—‘The union of *Prajñā* and *Upāya* is the union (*surata*); there, he (the Yogin) is the hero, because he controls all discharge by the strength of his incessant and intense emotion (*mahārāga*). *surāa-vīra iti/prañño-pāyoyor dvandva-yogaḥ suratam/tatrā’navacchinna-mahārāga-rūpeṇa virāga-dalanād vīraḥ/*

that the Lord Supreme and his Śakti are in deep union in the nature of Sahaja-bliss through the affection of intense emotion.¹ In justification of the sexo-yogic practice in esoteric Buddhism it has often been said that man is bound through emotion or attachment and he is again liberated through that very emotion.² It is further discussed,—if perfect knowledge is attainable through the emotion of intense attachment, then all beings attached to worldly objects and sex-emotions might have been delivered; but it is warned that only by enjoying objects the incessant bliss arising out of great emotion (*mahārāga-sukha*) cannot be realized; *mahārāga-sukha* can only be realized after one has attained perfect knowledge about the immutable nature of the objects which transcends the threefold principles of defilement (*ābhāsatraya*). It is further confirmed by the authority of the *Jñāna-vajra-samuccaya-mahā-yoga-tantra* where it is said that those, who are attached only to sex-intercourse, never attain perfect knowledge of the nature of intense emotion (*mahārāja*); on the other hand, he who, through the intense joy arising out of the sexo-yogic practice, perfectly knows the nature of the principles of defilement (*prakṛty-ābhāsa*) can enter into the bliss of intense emotion (*mahārāga-sukha*).³ Thus it is clear that the intensity of bliss through which the mind attains a transcendental stage where all the principles of phenomenalisation and defilement vanish away, is the *mahārāga*. In the *Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara* it has been said that

[MS. B. N. Sans. No. 47, p. 41(B)]. Again *jīṃghai maaramae* (in the same Dohā) is explained as,—‘Experiences undischarged bliss of the nature of intense emotion (*mahārāga*) through his strength in union. *suratavīratayā’cyuta-mahārāga-sukham anubhavatī’ty arthaḥ/* [Ibid., MS. p. 41(B)].

¹ *mahā-rāgā-nurāgeṇa sahajā-nanda-svarūpataḥ |*
—MS. p. 55(B).

² *rāgeṇa vadhyate loko rāgeṇaiva hi mucyate |*
vīparīta-bhāvanā hy eṣā na jñātā buddha-tīrthikaḥ ||
—Quoted in the Comm. of the Dohās of Kāṇha-pāda. MS. B. N. Sans.

No. 47., p. 43(B).

In the *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha* this verse is ascribed to the *Prajātantra*.

Cf. also: *rāgeṇa hanyate rāgo vahnidāham ca vahninā |*

Ekalla-vīra-caṇḍa-mahā-roṣaṇa-tantra,

—MS. (R.A.S.B., No. 9089) p. 22(B).

³ Com. MS. B. N. Sans. No. 47, p. 44(A). See also pp. 43(B),

the Yogin of the nature of great emotion and absorbed in the *Samādhi* of intense emotion should adorn and adore the *Mahāmudrā* through deep attachment to great emotion.¹ The world is produced through emotion and is again destroyed through the abandonment of it (i.e., by mere indulgence in sex-passions and discharge of the matter without knowing the *tattva*); by the knowledge of its transcendental nature mind becomes the *Vajra-sattva*.² Again it is said in the *Citta-viśuddhi-prakaraṇa* that man is affected by his emotional and passionate mind, but is also liberated through the enjoyment of passion.³ The wise should save himself from passions with the help of the passion.⁴

So, it is clear from the above, that the word *rāga* was used to signify intense bliss of emotion which is produced through the methodical and well-controlled union of the *Prajñā* and the *Upāya*; it is this emotion, which, because of its highest intensity, would absorb all the other constructive functions of the mind within it and thus would bring about the liberation of the Yogin.

(v) *Samarasa*

Closely associated with the idea of *rāga* or transcendental emotion is the idea of *samarasa* or the sameness or oneness of emotion. In a deeper sense *samarasa* is the realisation of the oneness of the universe amidst all its diversities,—it is the realisation of the one truth as the one emotion or the all-pervading bliss. The meaning of *samarasa* is well explained in the *Herajra-tantra*, where it is said that, in the *Sahaja* or the ultimate stage, there is the cognition of neither

¹ *mahā-rāgā-nurāgeṇa mahā-rāga-svabhāvatāḥ |*
mahā-rāga-samādhistho mahā-mudrāṁ prasādhayet ||
² *rāgeṇo'lpadyate loko rāga-kṣepāt ksayaṁ gataḥ |*
vajra-rāga-parijānāt vajra-sattvo bhaven manoh ||

—Quoted in the *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha*.

³ *rajyate rāga-cittena rāga-bhogeṇa mucyate ||*

—Verse 35.

⁴ *rāgeṇaiva tathā rāgam uddharanti manīṣiṇaḥ ||*

—Verse 37.

the Prajñā nor the Upāya, there is no sense of difference anywhere. In such a stage every thing whether the lowest or the middle or the best—all should be realised as the same.¹ The self should be realised as neither something static nor something dynamic;—through the transcendental meditation on the underlying oneness of the cosmic principle every thing should be viewed as of the same character and function.² The word *samarasa* has been explained here thus,—*sama* means the 'sameness' and *rasa* belongs to its cycle (*cakra*); thus *samarasa* means the oneness of the nature of all that is there in the cycle of existence.³ *Samarasa* actually means the realisation of self in the whole universe or the realisation of the universe as the self. The universe is said to have come out of the self, it is pervaded by the self—nothing else is found anywhere. This realisation of the universe as the self is called the *svātantryam*⁴ which is explained in the commentary as the state of absorption in the bliss of self-realisation. All existence, static and dynamic including grass, plants and creepers, etc., are to be realised as the highest truth of the nature of the self; amongst them there is nothing which is other than the self,—for the ultimate nature of all things is 'great bliss' (*mahat sukham*) which is to be first realised within the self.⁵ At that time the five

¹ *hīna-madhyo-utkrāṣṭāṇy eva anyāni yāni tāni ca |
sarve tāni samānī'ti draṣṭavyaṁ tattva-bhāvatāḥ ||*

—*Hevajra-tantra*. MS. p. 22(B).

² *sthīra-calaṁ yāni tānī'ti sarve tānī'ti naivā'ham |
samānī tulya-cessāni samarasais tattva-bhāvanaiḥ ||*

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 22(B)-23(A).

³ *samānī tulyam ity uktaṁ tasya cakre rasaḥ smṛtaḥ |
samarasān te ekabhāvateam etenā'rithena bhāṇyate ||*

—*Ibid.*

⁴ *mad-bhāvaṁ hi jagat-sarvaṁ mad-bhāvaṁ bhutana-trayaṁ |
mayā vyūptam idaṁ sarvaṁ nā'nyamayaṁ dṛśyate jagat |
evaṁ matvā tu vai yogī yogā-bhyāse samāhitaḥ |
sa sidhyati na sandeho manda-puṇyo'pi mānavaḥ |
khāne pāne tathā snāne jāgrat-supte'pi cintayet |
svātantryaṁ tu tato yāti mahā-mudrā-dhikāṅkṣakaḥ (?) ||*

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 23(A).

⁵ *sthīra-calāś ca ye bhāvās tṛṇa-gulma-latā-dayaḥ |
bhāṇyante vai paraṁ tattvaṁ ātma-bhāva-svarūpakam ||
teṣāṁ ekaṁ paraṁ nā'sti sva-samvedyaṁ mahat sukham |
sva-samvedyāt bhavet siddhiḥ sva-samvedyā hi bhāvanā ||*

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 23(B).

elements earth, water, air, fire and ether shake off the distinctive features of diversity and in no way do they disturb the oneness of the transcendental emotion; heaven, earth and hell become one within a moment and they can no more be recognised as the self or the not-self.¹ In the *Abhiṣeka-paṭala* of the same text we see that the Guru (or the Preceptor) should explain to the disciple (and also make him realise) the *samarasa*,² which is nothing but a knowledge to be realised within, which is free from the notions of the self and the not-self, which is sky-like, stainless, void, which is of the nature of both existence and non-existence and which is the ultimate truth; it is a combination of both *Prajñā* and *Upāya*—bereft of both *rāga* and *virāga*; that is the life of the creatures, the ultimate and immutable, all-pervading and belonging to all the bodies—that is the great life identified with the universe.³ Thus *samarasa* in its philosophical bearing means the same thing as the *advaya* or the *yuganaddha*.⁴

- ¹ *prthivī āpaś ca vāyus teja ākāśam eva ca |*
kṣaṇāt sarve ca tadhyante sva-para-saṃcitti-vedanam ||
svarga-martyaiś ca pātālair eka-mūrtir bhavet kṣaṇāt |
sva-para-bhāva-vikalpena bādhitum naiva śakyate ||

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 24(A).

- ² *kāritavyaṅ ca tattraiva samarasam śiṣya-gocaram ||*

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 27(A).

- ³ *sva-saṃvedyāt bhavet jñānam sva-para-saṃcitti-varjitam |*
kha-samam vīrajam śūnyam bhāva-bhāva-īmakam param ||
prajñā-pāya-vyatimītram rāga-raga-vivarjitam |
sa eva prāṇinām prāṇaś sa eva paramā-kṣaraś ||
sarva-vyūṣā sa evāsau sarva-dehe vyavasthitaś ||
sa evā'sau mahā-prāṇaś sa evā'sau jagannmayāś ||

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 27(A).

All these lines with slight deviations in readings are found also in the *Sampuṭikā*. Cf. MS. (R.A.S.B., No. 4854) pp. 13(A)-13(B).

Cf. further the *Sampuṭikā* where it is said that *samarasa* is the pure mixture of both *rāga* and *virāga*,—and that *samarasa* is the unique knowledge about all existence.

- rāgaś caiva virāgaś ca mīśrīkṣtam anāvilam |*
tathā rāga-virāgābhyām ekaś samarasāś kṣaṇaś |
samarasāś sarva-bhāveṇām samayas te eka ucyate |

—*Sampuṭikā*, MS. p. 10(B).

⁴ In the *Acintya-deśya-kramo-padeśa* of *Kuddāla-pāda* it is said that as all the entities come from transcendental knowledge of the form of *samarasa*, they are non-dual in nature.

In the *Vyakta-bhāvā-nugata-tattva-siddhi* it has been said that when one enters into the state of *Mahāsukha*, produced through the union of *Prajñā* and *Upāya*, a state free from all thought constructions, the whole world becomes of the nature of a unique emotion in the form of *Mahāsukha*. Through this unique emotion of bliss the whole world as static and dynamic takes the form of *Mahāsukha* and all become one.¹

In the *Caryā-padas* and the *Dohās* of Saraha and Kāṇha the word *samarasa* is used freely in the sense of *advāya*. It is said in a song of Bhusuka-pāda that as water mixed with water leaves no difference of any kind, so also the jewel of mind enters the sky of *samarasa*.² In *samarasa* both the positive and negative aspects of the mind vanish; it is pure and free from all existence as well as non-existence.³ Where the mind sets in, all bondage is torn off,—there in a non-dual state every thing becomes same, there is neither the *Sūdra* nor the *Brāhmaṇa*.⁴ *Samarasa* is that state where the mind enters into the vacuity as water enters into water; it is the receptacle of all merits and demerits.⁵ It is said by Kāṇha-pāda,—‘He who has made his mind steady in *samarasa* which is the *Sahaja*, becomes at once

adeśyā-kāra-sarvaṃ tu deśyam etat na vidyate |
samaṃ samarasā-kāram acintya-jñāna-sambhūtam ||

—MS. (C.L.B.), p. 108(B).

¹ *asmin prajñā-pāyo-tpanna-mahāsukhā-loka-sthāne parityakta-śakala-kalpanā-*
kalāpa atisāya-bhogatām upagata-karaṇa-grāmeṇa pravṛtṣṭe sati jagad
idaṃ eva mahāsukhā-kāra-rasai-katām prayāti/. samarasa-sukha-
sampad-anutpādaśriyā sakalam eva colā-calam viśvaṃ mahāsukhā-kāram eyāt |

—*Vyakta-bhāvā-nugata-tattva-siddhi*, MS. (C.L.B.) p. 89(A).

² *jima jāle pāṇiā talīā bheda na jāa |*

tīma mana (marāṇa, Sic.) raṇa (aana, Sic.) re samarase gaṇa samāa ||

—*Caryā-pada*, Song No. 43. (Śāstrī's Edition).

³ *jahi jāi citta tahi suṇahu acitta |*

samarasa [nimmaḷa bhāvēbhāvē-rahia] ||

—*Dohā of Tillopāda*, No. 11. (Dr. Bagchi's Edition).

⁴ *jave maṇa atthamaṇa jāi taṇu tuffai vandhana |*

tave samarasa sahaṇe vajjai naṇu sudaṇa na samhāṇa ||

Dohā of Saraha, No. 46.

⁵ *jatta ei paisai jalahi jalu tattai samarasa hoi |*

dozagunāra cittatahā vaḍha paricakkha na koi ||

Dohā No. 74.

perfect, no more will he suffer from disease and death.¹ If the mind is absorbed in his (mind's) wife (*i.e.*, *śūnyatā*) as salt is absorbed in water, there follows *samarasa* which is a unique state of mind with a never-failing flow of oneness.² This *samarasa* or the *sāmarasya* is the union of the Prajñā and the Upāya.³ In the Hindu Tantras also the word *sāmarasya* is extensively used in the sense of the union, or rather the oneness of emotion proceeding from the union of Śiva and Śakti.

(vi) *Mahāsukha (Supreme Bliss) As The Final Goal :
Nirvāṇa And Mahāsukha*

The next important thing is the conception of *nirvāṇa* as Mahāsukha. The problem of making out the exact implication of the conception of *nirvāṇa* is rather a stumbling block with the Buddhist scholars; the reason for it is that, though it is the most highly spoken of in many of the canonical and philosophical texts, it is, and by nature could be, the least explained. Not that its nature has been least discussed, but that out of all the controversial discussions it is not possible to form any definite notion about it, and in general it is the unspeakable transcendental nature of *nirvāṇa* that has variously been emphasised. Buddha himself observed the principle of significant silence with regard to the problem of *nirvāṇa* and it is in consonance with his general agnostic attitude towards all the metaphysical problems. According to some scholars, however, the problem of *nirvāṇa* was no vital question with primitive Buddhism which was concerned more with the four noble truths (*āryasatya*) than with the problem of the after world.⁴

¹ *sahaje niccala jeṇa kia samarase nīmaṇa rāa |
siddho so puṇa takkhaṇe naū jarāmarañaha sa bhāa ||*

—Dohā No. 19.

² *jīma loṇa vilijjai pāñehi tīma ghariṇi lai citta |
samarasa jāi takkhaṇe jai puṇu te sama ṇitta ||*

—Dohā No. 32.

³ *prajñā-pāya-mahā-guhyam samarasā [dhya]m (?) ucyaṭe ||*

Subhāṣita-saṃgraha, p. 69.

⁴ Vide *The Principles of Mahāyāna Buddhism* by Suzuki, Ch. XIII.

(A) NIRVANA AS A POSITIVE STATE OF BLISS

Apart from the controversial views of the scholars as to whether the conception of *nirvāṇa* in early Buddhism was positive or negative, we may say for ourselves that though the Buddhist conception of *nirvāṇa* from the early time may admit of negative interpretations, the description of its positive character is not also wanting. The etymological meaning of the word ¹ is an eternal stoppage to a flow ; and in this sense we may take the word to imply the complete cessation of the cycle of birth and death. The derivation of the word also gives the meaning of the blowing out as of a lamp, or, the eternal tranquillity resulting from the cessation of all the *vāsanās* and *saṃskāras* and the consequent escape from the life of birth and death. From this idea of tranquillisation the word developed the meaning of perfect peace. From the discourse of Reverend Nāgasena with king Milinda in the *Milinda-pañho* (which is a Pāli work of antiquity), it appears that whatever might have been the philosophical concept of *nirvāṇa*, it was something positive so far as the popular belief was concerned.² The element of *nirvāṇa* (*nibbāṇa-dhātu*) is

¹ The word *nirvāṇa* is derived as *nir* + *√vā* (fused with the */er/*) + *ta*. The prefix *nir* implies negation, the root *√vā* means to blow and the suffix *ta* is added in the impersonal voice (i.e., *bhāvasācya*).

² Nāgasena explains to the King that it is not possible to speak of any definite form (*rūpa*) or situation (*saṃsthānam*), or time (*aya*) or evidence (*paṃāṇa*) of *nirvāṇa* either through any example (*opamma*) or cause (*kāraṇa*) or reason (*hetu*) or system (*naya*) of *nirvāṇa*; but as we cannot say anything about the denizens of heaven, yet we do believe in their existence, so also existence of *nirvāṇa* should be believed in, though we cannot say anything about it. Nevertheless, *nirvāṇa* has got its qualities (*guṇas*). It contains one *guṇa* of the lotus, two *guṇas* of water, three *guṇas* of medicine, four *guṇas* of the ocean, five *guṇas* of eating, ten *guṇas* of the sky, three *guṇas* of the precious jewel, three *guṇas* of red sandal, three *guṇas* of the *sappi-maṇḍa* (preparations from butter) and five *guṇas* of the peak of the mountain. As the lotus is never wet in water, so also *nirvāṇa* is never affected by the afflictions (*kilesa*). As water is cold and quenches thirst, so also *nirvāṇa* is cool and calm through the extinction of the *klesas* and it also quenches our thirst (*taṇhā*) for all the worldly desires. As medicine (*agada*) is the cure of a man affected with poison, so, *nirvāṇa* is the cure of all the poison of afflictions (*kilesa-viṣa*). Like medicine *nirvāṇa* removes all sorrows and is itself nectar (*amata*). Like food *nirvāṇa* gives us strength and energy and it sustains us throughout. Again like the sky *nirvāṇa* is not produced, it does not produce, it is incomprehensible, uncreate, unveiled, infinite like the sky. Like a precious jewel *nirvāṇa* fulfils our desires; like red sandal it is rare and scented; like the preparation from butter (*sappi-maṇḍa*)

said to be quiescent (*santa*), bliss (*sukha*), excellent (*pañña*), it is to be attained through perfect knowledge (*paññā*) by the removal of the deep-rooted impressions (*sankhāra*). Just as a man burning in a great fire escapes the fire through his own effort and enters a fireless place and enjoys supreme bliss, so also, a man, who through deep reflection on the nature of things gets rid of the threefold fire of *rāga* (passion), *dveṣa* (hatred) and *moha* (attachment), obtains *nirvāṇa* which is supreme bliss (*paramasukha*).¹ Though in Pāli literature we often find *nirvāṇa* described as something unspeakable, yet in course of poetic description we find it described as the supreme (*param*), tranquil (*santa*), pure (*visuddha*), excellent (*pañña*), calm (*santi*), immutable (*akkhara*), eternal (*dhruva*), true (*sacca*), infinite (*ananta*), unchanging (*accuta*), permanent (*sassata*), immortal (*amata*), unborn (*ajāta*), uncreate (*asamkhata*, *akata*), eternal (*kevala*), all good (*siva*) and the safety of Yoga (*yogakkhema*), etc. It is, as Rhys Davids puts it,² "the harbour of refuge, the cool cave, the island amidst the floods, the place of bliss, emancipation, liberation, safety, tranquil, the home of ease, the calm, the end of suffering, the medicine for all evil, the unshaken, the ambrosia, the immaterial, the imperishable, the abiding, the further shore, the unending, the bliss of effort, the supreme joy, the ineffable, the detachment, the holy city," etc. In the *Sutta-nipāta* *nirvāṇa* is spoken of as the quiescent.³ In the *Majjhima-nikāya* *nirvāṇa* has been described as a higher bliss than the equisition of perfect health; the eightfold path alone leads to perfect peace—to ambrosia.⁴ In the *Aṅguttara* it has been said that a man by removing all his impurities

it has colour and qualities (*guṇa-saṇṇa-sampannaṃ*), scent of good conduct (*sīla-gandha-sampannaṃ*), and is tasteful (*rasa-sampannaṃ*); like the mountain peak it is lofty, immutable, difficult to be attained, and destroyer of the seeds of afflictions.

¹ *Milinda-pañho*—Ed. by V. Trenckner, pp. 323-24.

For general discussion on *nirvāṇa* in the *Milinda-pañho* see pp. 315-326.

² *A Dictionary of Pāli Language*. See the word *nibbāṇa*.

³ *santi'ti nibbāṇam nateṭṭha, etc.*—*Ibid.*, p. 933.

⁴ *āroga-paramālabhā nibbāṇam paramam sukham |
atthaṅgiko ca maggānam khemam amata-gāminam ||*

—*Majjhima*, 1,508, cf. *Dhammapada*. Verse, 204.

attains *nirvāṇa* and thus is relieved from all kinds of sorrows.¹ In the *Vimāna-vatthu* *nirvāṇa* is spoken of as an immutable state where there is no suffering any more.² In the *Therī-gāthā* it is said that eternal bliss can be attained through the attainment of *nirvāṇa*.³ *Āṅguttara* describes it as the supreme safety attained through Yoga. *Saṅjuttanikāya* describes it as nectarlike (*amataṃ*=immortal?), quiescent and immutable (*amataṃ santiṃ nibbāṇadpadam accutaṃ*). Similarly, the *Dhammapada* speaks of it as the path to peace,⁴ as the supreme bliss.⁵ In the *Kathā-vatthu* it has been said that the self or the soul (*puggala*) is not permanent (*sassata*) like *nirvāṇa*.⁶ By a study of the views of Buddhaghosa as expressed in the *Visuddhi-maggo* against the Sautrāntika view of the negative conception of *nirvāṇa* we may come to the conclusion that according to Buddhaghosa *nirvāṇa* is some positive state of mind reached through the four kinds of *jñānas*. It is of the nature of peace (*santi-lakkhaṇaṃ*) and is a never-failing intuitive flow (*accuti-rasaṃ*). The well-known line of the *Itivuttaka*, viz., *atthi bhikkhave ajātaṃ abhūtaṃ akataṃ asankhataṃ* (there is that, O Bhikṣus, which is unborn, unoriginated, uncreate and unproduced) also suggests a positive conception of *nirvāṇa*.

Without multiplying instances we may conclude that in early Buddhism we do not find any consistent and clear-cut conception of *nirvāṇa*,—it is sometimes described negatively (particularly by the Sautrāntikas), but sometimes positively, and on the whole it seems that a conscious or unconscious positive tendency predominates over the negative one.

¹ *odhunitvā malaṃ sabbam patvā nibbāya-sampadam |
muceati sabba-dukkhehi sā hoti sabba-sampadā ||*

—*Āṅguttara*, IV, 239 (Quoted by Rhys Davids).

² *pattā te acala-tthānaṃ yathā gatevā na socare |*

—*Vimāna-vatthu*, 51.

³ *nibbāṇa-tthāne vimuttā te pattā te acalaṃ sukhaṃ |*

—*Therī-gāthā*, 350.

⁴ *santi-maggam eva brūhaya nibbāṇaṃ sugatena desitaṃ |*

—*Dhammapada*, 285.

⁵ *etaṃ āteva yathā-bhūtaṃ nibbāṇaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ |*

—*Dhammapada*, 203, 204.

⁶ *Kathā-vatthu*, 170 (p. 34); (Quoted by Dr. N. Dutta).

Coming to Mahāyāna we find that the Mādhyamikas spoke of *nirvāṇa* not as something which is to be attained through the destruction or arrest of anything whatsoever, it is but the complete cessation of all mental constructions. It is the destruction of nothing, the attainment of nothing,—it is neither annihilation nor external existence, it is neither the suppressed nor the produced—this is what is meant by *nirvāṇa*. It is extremely difficult to conceive what this *nirvāṇa* may be; but with this transcendentalism of Nāgārjuna we may compare the transcendentalism in the realisation of the Brahman as described in the Upaniṣads; but the great difference between the Upaniṣadic conception of the realisation of the highest truth with its conception as found in Nāgārjuna is that, whereas, in spite of all the negative descriptions, the Upaniṣads are definite on the point that in the realisation of the Brahman, or, the complete merging of the self in the absolute, there is infinite positive bliss,—Nāgārjuna will not allow *nirvāṇa* to be determined by any categorical description whatsoever.

Candrakīrti in his commentary on the *Mādhyamika-vṛtti*, however, quotes the view of a school of thinkers according to whom there are two distinct types of *nirvāṇa*,—viz., *nirvāṇa* with some residual substratum (*sopādhī-śeṣa*) and *nirvāṇa* without any residual substratum at all (*nirupādhī-śeṣa*).¹ In the *Visuddhi-maggo* also Buddhaghosa mentioned these two types of *nirvāṇa*. In Pāli literature we often find mention of *savupādhī-sesa-nibbāṇa* and *anupādhī-sesa-nibbāṇa* corresponding to the above division. In the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha* also we find these divisions maintained. Prof. La Vallée Poussin, however, is inclined to connect these two divisions of *nirvāṇa* with the Sautrāntika division of *prati-saṃkhyā-nirodha* and *apratisaṃkhyā-nirodha*. We may, however, refer here to the conceptions of the *Samprajñāta* and the *Asamprajñāta Samādhi* of the Pātañjala-yoga system.

We have seen that in the other school of Mahāyāna Buddhism, viz., the school of Vijñāna-vāda, the ultimate

¹ *Mādhyamika-vṛtti*, Ch. XXV, La Vallée Poussin's Edition.

reality began to be more and more positively described, and consequently the conception of *nirvāṇa* also became positive. In the Tathatā-doctrine of Aśvaghoṣa it has been said that when through the eradication of the root-instincts or the complexes the disturbance in the subjective realm is destroyed, we become free from all processes of false idealisation and can realise the truth as the 'thatness' or the 'oneness' underlying all phenomena, and the complete eradication of individuation and the realisation of the 'thatness' as the 'oneness' or the totality of the universe is what is meant by *nirvāṇa*. In such a state, there is no activity of the consciousness, and through the cessation of all conscious processes there remain only eternal calmness and quiescence. In the *Saundarānanda Kāvya* of Aśvaghoṣa it has been said of *nirvāṇa*,—"As the light, when blown out, goes neither towards the earth nor towards the space above—neither towards any quarter, nor towards what is not a quarter, but attains perfect calmness due to the complete exhaustion of oil; so also, when one attains extinction, one goes neither towards the earth nor towards the space above, neither towards a quarter nor towards what is not a quarter, but due to the annihilation of the affliction attains eternal quiescence."¹

In the Vijñāna-vāda doctrine of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu *nirvāṇa* means the realisation of the void-nature of both the self and of the external objects. But *śūnyatā* with them is no nihil, it is not the absolute denial of any reality; it is but the negation of subjectivity and objectivity, pure consciousness (*vijñapti-mātratā*) is the one ultimate reality. In *nirvāṇa* these *grāhya* and *grāhaka* are annihilated, but the pure consciousness remains. This pure consciousness is the *dharma-kāya*,—it is the undifferentiated absolute oneness. But can it be said that this *dharma-kāya* is a positive state of absolute bliss? The Vijñāna-vādins do not make any definite reply to this question; but in the *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi* it

¹ *Saundarānanda Kāvya*, edited by MM. H.P. Sāstrī and published by the R.A.S.B., Ch. XVI, Verses 28-29.

has been said about the nature of the pure consciousness,—
 “It is the immutable element which is beyond the reach of
 all mentation; it is all good, permanent, perfect bliss,—it
 is liberation—the substance itself”.¹ According to the
 Vijñāna-vādins there is no heterogeneity between *saṃsāra*
 and *nirvāṇa*; but the perfect knowledge of the *saṃsāra* as the
śūnyatā or as the pure consciousness (according to the
 Vijñāna-vādins) is itself *nirvāṇa*.

(B) NIRVĀNA AS MAHĀSUKHA IN THE BUDDHIST
 TANTRAS

From the above we may conclude that from the early
 period down to the period of Vijñāna-vāda the conception of
nirvāṇa admits of positive interpretations, at least in a
 popular way, if not in the strictly philosophical sense, and
 it is described in some places not only as positive but as
 intense bliss. This conception of *nirvāṇa* as intense bliss
 was elaborated to a great length by the Vajra-yānists, parti-
 cularly by the Sahaja-yānists where *nirvāṇa* is identified with
 intense bliss or *Mahāsukha*.² With them *nirvāṇa* is the
 ultimate reality,—it is the *Dharma-kāya*,—and that is the
 Lord Buddha—that is the Vajra-dhara or the Vajra-sattva;³
 —it is the *Mahāsukha*,—it is the Bodhicitta,⁴—it is the
 Sahaja,—it is pure consciousness, and the nature of pure
 consciousness is bliss.⁵

In the Buddhist Tantras the element of *nirvāṇa*
 (*nirvāṇa-dhātu*) is described as incessant bliss (*satata-sukha-*
maya),⁶ it is the abode of both enjoyment as well as liberation;⁷

¹ *Triṃdikā*, Verse 30.

² Vide *Sarva-devatā-gama-tantra*, quoted in the *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha*.

³ Vide *Advaya-samatā-vijaya* quoted in the *Jñāna-siddhi* (G.O.S.), p. 33.

⁴ *Jñāna-siddhi*, Ch. XV. See also Comm. on *Marma-kalikā-tantra*,—*jina-
 īrī-herukaḥ/tasya hṛdayam akṣara-bodhi-cittam/tasya hṛdaya-mahāsukhom* etc,
 MS. B.N. Sans. No. 83, p. 29(B).

⁵ *Caturābharāṇa*—MS. (R.A.S.B., No. 4801) p. 7(B).

⁶ *Pañca-krama*, Ch. IV.

⁷ *bhukti-mukti-padam divyam nirvāṇa-khyam param padam* |

—*Guhya-siddhi*, MS. p. 13(A).

it is called *Mahāsukha*, where there is no change or decrease.¹ It is the seed of all substance, it is the ultimate stage of those who have attained perfection; it is the highest place of the Buddhas and is called the *Sukhāvatī* (the abode of bliss).²

But this bliss (*sukha*) has often been repudiated as a mere thought-construction (*vikalpa*), whereas *nirvāṇa* is the annihilation of all sorts of thought-construction; it is therefore said by *Nāgārjuna-pāda* in his *Apratiṣṭhāna-prakāśa* that as long as there flows in the mind any sort of thought-construction (*vikalpa*)—every thing is to be left off; for, even that which is of the nature of bliss and makes the heart happy is itself a mere mentation; even the feeling of detachment,—nay, both of attachment and detachment, should be cast off; for, all these are main causes of existence;—there is *nirvāṇa* nowhere except in the transcendental existence of the self.³

¹ *kṣaya-vyaya-vinirmuktaṁ śrī-mahāsukha-saṁjñitam |*

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 13(A).

² *tad-bijaṁ sarva-vastūnāṁ siddhā(i, sic.)nām ca param padam |*
buddhānā(m) tat param sthānam sukhāvattī-abhidhānakam ||

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 13(B).

In this *Guhya-siddhi* the transcendental arrest (*divya-samādhi*) is also characterised as of the nature of great bliss. (Cf. *divyasamādhimāsthāya mahā-sukha-sukhātmakam*—MS. p. 5A, 6A). In another quotation in the *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha* it has been said that those wise men who have been able to realise the nature of the whole universe as *Sahaja*—as free from all imagination—as the supportless (*nirālambam*), have attained the state of the *Sugata* which is of the nature of pure and intense bliss. In the *Dākṛṇvara* the *Vajrayāna* yoga has been described as the union of *Prajñā* and *Upāya* and as of the nature of immutable bliss. (P. 158, Śāstrī's Edition). In this ocean of existence, ruffled by huge waves and with poisonous water and full of ferocious animals of passions etc., bliss is the only shore. (*Sādhana-mālā*, Vol. II, p. 449). In the *Kriyā-saṁgraha* the path of esoteric Buddhism has been characterised as the 'vehicle of great bliss' (*mahāsukha-yāna*). (MS. p. 74A). In the *Ādi-buddha-tantra* it has been said that there is no greater vice than detachment (*virāga*) and no greater merit than bliss. So the *citta* should always be kept absorbed in the changeless bliss.—*virāgāt (na) param pāpam nā puṇyam sukhataḥ param/ato'kṣara-sukhe cittam niceśyantu sadā nṛpa! |* Quoted in the Comm. of the *Dohakoṣa* of *Kāṇhupāda*, *Dohā* No. 10.

³ *yāvat kaścid vikalpaḥ prabhavati manasi tyajya-rūpaḥ sa sarvaḥ*
yo'stānanda-rūpaḥ hṛdaya-sukha-karaḥ so'pi saṁkalpamātraḥ |
yad vā vairāgya-hetoḥ tad api yad ubhayan tad bhavasyā'grahetuḥ
nirvāṇam nā'nyad asti kvacid api viśaye nirvikalpā-tmabhāve ||

—Quoted in the Comm. on the *Caryā* Song No. 13. Also Cf. Comm. on the *Dohā* No. 58 of *Saraha-pāda*.

In a Dohā Saraha-pāda warns not to confuse the truth that is only to be realised within ; both positive and negative thought-constructions bind the man. In the final stage the individual consciousness or egohood should merge in the all-pervading universal consciousness like water merging into water.¹ In the commentary it has been said that to identify the final state with *sukha* is a mere confusion. No positive conception of this final stage nor any negative conception or any construction of this type can conduce to perfect enlightenment. There is no difference between a golden chain and an iron chain, for both will bind a man and therefore both are to be avoided.² It has further been said that the wise never enter into any thought-construction about the ultimate state ; for there is no fundamental difference between a thought-construction that is bad and the one which is good ; for both will bind a man in the world of suffering ; no difference is produced in the burning capacity of fire through the change of fuel ; if fire be made even with the logs of a sandal tree it will burn whenever touched.³ But though here it has been strongly warned not to confuse *nirvāṇa* with *sukha*, yet in a general way *nirvāṇa* in esoteric Buddhism has been described all along as *Mahāsukha* and it is identified with *Mahāsukha*. The advocates of *Mahāsukha* will justify their own position by describing *Mahāsukha* as transcending all kinds of thought-constructions, it is an absolutely pure emotion of bliss in which all the activities of the mind are absolutely lost.⁴

¹ *saasamvitti ma karahu re dhandhā |*
bhāvā-bhāva sugatī re bandhā ||
ya māṇa munahu re niune joi |
jima jala jalahi milante soi ||

—Saraha-pāda, Dohā No. 32.

² See Comm. on Dohā No. 32 of Saraha-pāda.

³ *paramā-rtha-vikalpe'pi nā'valiyeta paññitāḥ |*
ko hi bhedo vikalpasya śubhe vā'py aśubhe'pi vā ||
vā'dhāra-bhedāt bhedo'sti vahnī-dāhakatām prati |
apṛāyamāno dahaty eva candanair jvalito'py asau ||

—Quoted in the Comm. on Dohā No. 32.

⁴ Cf. "All thought-construction is destroyed in sat-sukha."

—*Subhāṣita-saṃgraha*,

(C) THE COSMOLOGICAL AND ONTOLOGICAL
SIGNIFICANCE OF MAHĀSUKHA

As Mahāyāna Buddhism often speaks of *nirvāṇa* as the ultimate reality—as the *Dharma-kāya*—so also the nature of this *Mahāsukha* has variously been described in the Buddhist Tantras as the ultimate reality transcending, or rather absorbing within it, both existence (*bhāva*) and extinction (*nirvāṇa*). *Mahāsukha* is something which has neither the beginning nor any middle, nor any end : it is neither existence nor annihilation ; this transcendental supreme bliss is neither the not-self nor the self.¹ In the *Mahāsukha-prakāśa* (collected in the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha*) *Mahāsukha* is described as the Lord Vajra-sattva of the nature of the unity of Prajñā and Upāya ; it is the non-dual quintessence of all the entities.² It is further said that perfect wisdom is never possible without bliss ; perfect wisdom itself is of the nature of bliss.³ All objects are *Mahāsukha* by nature ; but due to our ignorance they appear as poison to us.⁴ It is said by Bhadra-pāda that every thing proceeds from supreme bliss ; the highly luminous Prajñā, which enables a man to attain perfect Buddhahood, also proceeds from this supreme bliss.⁵ The body of knowledge, which is undisturbed and unchanging supreme bliss, itself takes the form of the whole universe.⁶ In the *Samputikā* it has been said that perfectly pure knowledge, which in essence is the goddess herself (*Prajñā* =

Again: "That supreme transcendental bliss is void and perfectly pure, where there is neither any vice nor any merit". *suṇṇa nirañjana parama-mahāsuha taḥi puṇṇa na pāva* ||—*Dohā* quoted in the *Hevajra-tantra*.

¹ *āi na anta na majhu na nau bhava nau nibhāna |*
chuso parama mahāsuha nau para nau appāna ||

—Quoted in the *Hevajra-tantra*, MS, p. 61(A).

² *vajra-sattvaṃ namaskṛtya prajñā-pāya- [sva] rūpiṇam |*
mahāsukhā-devaṃ vakṣye vastu-tattvaṃ samāsataḥ ||

—*Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha*, p. 50 (G.O.S.)

³ *sukhā-bhāve na bodhiḥ syāt matā yā sukha-rūpiṇī |*

—*Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴ *ete'pi viśayā(h) svarūpataḥ mahāsukha-rūpiṇaḥ |*
kintu avidyā-vaśāt viśavat niṣpadyante |

Comm. on the *Marma-kalikā-tantra*.

⁵ *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha*.

⁶ *sarvā-kāraṇaṃ prayāty akṣara-sukhā-nāhataṃ jñāna-kāyam |*

—*Śrī-kāla-cakra*, MS. (Cambridge, Add. No. 1364),

goddess), is called the Vajra-sattva—it is also called the supreme bliss ; it is self-originated—of the nature of *Dharma-kāya* and to it belongs Prajñā, absorbed in the nature of Sahaja.¹ The *Hevajra-tantra* describes elaborately the nature of *sukha* as the ultimate reality. It is the *Dharma-kāya*, it is the Lord Buddha himself. *Sukha* is black, it is yellow, it is red, it is white, it is green, it is blue, it is the whole universe : it is Prajñā, it is Upāya, it results from the ultimate union ; it is existence, it is non-existence—it is the Vajra-sattva.² But the question is, if everything be by nature nothing but *Mahāsukha*, what is the necessity of any origination (*utpāda*) at all? The reply is that *sukha* is not possible at all without the body, for without body none would even be able to speak of *saukhyā*. The implication seems to be that *sukha* as the highest reality can only be realised through the medium of the body and hence is the necessity of the world of objects though every thing is by nature nothing but *sukha*. *Sukha* itself pervades the whole world as the pervader (*vyāpaka*) as well as the pervaded (*vyāpya*) ; but as the smell of a flower cannot be perceived without the flower, so also *sukha* as the quintessence of all that is originated can never be realised without the world of originated objects.³ In the *Guhya-siddhi* it is said that through the union of the void-element (*kha-dhātu*) and the

¹ *suciśuddha-mahā-jñānaṃ sarva-devī-svarūpakam |*
vajra-sattva itī khyātāṃ param sukham udārhytam ||
svayambhu-rūpam etat tu dharma-kāya-svarūpakam |
tasyaiva sahajā prajñā sthitā tad-gata-rūpiṇī ||

—*Sampuṭikā*, MS, p. 48(B).

² *sukhaṃ kṛṣṇaṃ sukhaṃ pītaṃ sukhaṃ raktaṃ sukhaṃ sitam |*
sukhaṃ śyāmaṃ sukhaṃ nīlaṃ sukhaṃ kṛtenaṃ carā-caram ||
sukhaṃ prajñā sukho-pāyāḥ sukhaṃ kundurujaṃ tathā |
sukhaṃ bhāvaḥ sukha-bhāvo vajra-sattvaḥ sukhaḥ smṛtaḥ ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS, p. 35(B).

³ *dehā-bhāve kutaḥ saukhyāṃ saukhyāṃ vaktum na śakyate |*
vyāpya-vyāpaka rūpeṇa sukhena vyāpitam jagat ||
yathā puṣpā-śṛitaṃ gandhaṃ puṣpā-bhāve na gamyate |
tathā utpannā-ḍy-abhāvena saukhyāṃ naivo'palabhyate ||

—*Ibid.*, MS, p. 36(A).

thunder (*vajra*)¹ the great element is produced in the form of bliss which yields *paramā-nanda*; after the cessation of *paramā-nanda* is produced *viramā-nanda*² and the supreme bliss that follows *viramā-nanda* is of indescribable nature; it is bereft of all the senses (*i.e.*, inaccessible to all the senses), undisturbed non-dual and good; it is all-pervading non-essential, it is perfect wisdom—it is the ultimate state; it is divine, all-good, it is the ultimate stage of liberation to the *Sādhakas*,—this is what is pure transcendental non-substantial Bodhicitta.³ The bliss that is produced through some cause itself destroys the cause of *Samśāra*; supreme bliss is of the nature of self-produced knowledge without involving any mental construction.⁴ The nature of *Mahāsukha* cannot be realised through the theories of the void, etc., and all other false constructions; through the purification of *Prajñā* and *Upāya* it is revealed that *Mahāsukha* is the one non-dual knowledge.⁵ All the entities, static or dynamic, remain ultimately in a state of non-duality,—they are by nature pure from the beginning and clear like the calm sky

¹ *kha-dhātu* is *śūnyatā*, it is the *Prajñā*—the female and *vajra* is the *Upāya*, the male. *Vide Supra*.

² *Paramā-nanda*, *Viramā-nanda*, etc. will be explained later on.

³ *kha-dhātu-vajra-saṃyogāt saṃsparśāc ca mahā-bhūtam |*
sukham utpadyate yat tat paramā-nanda-kāraṇam ||
tat-kṣayāc ca viramas tu viramāt tu (māstu, Sic) yat param |
anirdeśya svarūpaṃ tu kim apy utpadyate tu yat ||
sarve-ndriya-vinirmuktaṃ nirvandeṣaṃ paramaṃ śivam |
vyāpakam niḥsvabhāvaṃ ca tad bodhiḥ paramaṃ padam ||
dīvyam samanta-bhadrā-khyam viramā-nte vyavasthitam |
sādhakānāṃ paraṃ hyetat mukti-sthānaṃ prakīrtitam ||

niḥsvabhāvaṃ paraṃ śuddhaṃ bodhicittam anuttaram ||

—*Guhya-siddhi*, MS. p. 10(B).

⁴ *yad idaṃ sannimitta-sukhaṃ tad-eva jagatān nimitta-parihīnam |*
Jñāna-svayambhū rūpaṃ mahāsukhaṃ kalpanā-śūnyam ||

—*Vyakta-bhāvanugata-tatteva-siddhi*, MS. (C.L.B. No. 1312) p. 86(A).

⁵ *śūnyo palambha-vādena mithyā-vādena vāhitaḥ |*
kalpanā-jāla-vandhena naiva budhyanti śrī-sukham ||
duḥkalpa-kalpanā bāhyā prajñā-pāya-viśuddhitaḥ |
mahā-yogā-deva-jñānam ekam eva mahāsukham ||

—*Acintyā-deva-kramo-padeśa*, MS. (C.L.B. 13124) p. 109(A).

above ; the epithet non-dual is also a mere name for this ultimate nature, this name also does not remain there, and this non-duality, in which there is neither the knowable nor the knower, is what is called the *Mahāsukha*.¹ When Prajñā and Upāya are combined together in oneness,—the non-dual knowledge is produced which is *Mahāsukha*. That *Mahāsukha* of the nature of non-dual knowledge transcends all colour, sound and taste, it is free from smell and touch, it is of the nature of pure and supreme knowledge made up of the ultimate element behind the *dharma*s (*dharma-dhātu*) ; it is bereft of all mentation, free from the knower and the known ; it is the naturally pure abode as ultimate non-duality.² Through perfect knowledge the transcendental bliss of the Buddhas is infinite, it is all-pervading—spontaneous flow of intense bliss—it is the non-dual truth.³

We have already seen that in Vajra-yāna the ultimate reality is identified with the conception of a Lord Supreme (*Bhagavān*) as the Vajra-dhara or the Vajra-sattva or simply the Lord. Here in the conception of *Mahāsukha* also we see that when *Mahāsukha* is identified with the ultimate reality it is conceived variously as the Lord Supreme. We sometimes find goddess Vārāhī (the goddess supreme, the Sūnyatā or the Nairātmā) deeply embracing the Lord *Mahāsaukhyā*,⁴

¹ *sarva-sthira-calā bhāvā advayena vyavasthitāḥ |*
svabhāvena viśuddhāḥ te śāntā-kāśa-sunirmalāḥ ||
advayaṁ nāma-mātraṁ tu tac ca nāmaṁ na vidyate |
vedya vedaka-nīlakṣaṁ advayaṁ tu mahāsukham ||

—*Acintyā-devyā-kramopadeśa*, MS. p. 109(A).

² *prajñā-pāya-mahā-karuṇā-samarasā-kāram ekataḥ |*
tasmin niṣpadyate jñānam advayaṁ tu mahāsukham ||
rūpa-śabda-rasā-tītaṁ gandha-sparśā-dī-varjitam |
dharma-dhātumayaṁ śuddhaṁ jñānam uttamam ||
sarva-saṅka(lpa)-nirmuktaṁ grāhya-grāhaka-varjitam |
svabhāva-śuddhaṁ nilayaṁ advayaṁ pāramārthikam ||

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 109(B).

³ *anantaṁ vyāpakaṁ sarva-jñāna-prabhāvatāḥ |*
sva-cchanda-paramā-nandam advayaṁ buddha-sat-sukham ||

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 112(A).

⁴ *Cf.* *vārāhy-ālīngita-mahā-saukhyam*.

—*Sādhana-mālā*. Vol. II, p. 491.

sometimes we hear of the Lord *Śrī-mahāsukha* as of the form of infinite bliss,¹ sometimes again the lord is saluted as the *Śrīman-mahāsukha*.² The secret of the ultimate truth is said to be explained by the Lord *Mahāsukha*³ as all the doctrines of Buddhism are said to have been explained by Lord Buddha himself. Sometimes it is said that Lord *Śrī-mahāsukha* has created this world of differences from his non-dual nature.⁴ He, as the Lord *Caṇḍaroṣaṇa* of the nature of incessant bliss, remains in the lotus,⁵ which is often called the abode of *Sukhāvatī*.⁶

(D) MAHASUKHA IN RELATION TO THE ESOTERIC PRACTICE

The advocates of Vajra-yāna and Sahaja-yāna hold that the pleasure that is realised through the discharge of matter

¹ *ananta-sukha-rūpatvāt śrī-mahāsukha-samjñitam |*

—*Prajño-pāya-vinīcaya-siddhi*. p. 6.

² *sarva-buddhā-tmakam nātham natvā śrī-man-mahāsukham |*

—*Pañca-krama*. p. 15(A).

Also:

jayati sukha-rāja ekaḥ kārṇa-rahitaḥ sado-dito jagatām |

yasya ca nigadana-samaye vacano-daridra babhūva sarvajñaḥ ||

—*Vyakta-bhāvā-nugata-tattva-siddhi*. MS. (C.L.B.) No. 1324, p. 85(A).

mahāsukham prañamyā'dau vāk-pathā-tīta-gocaram |

vakṣyate padma-vajreṇa guhya-siddhir anuttaram ||

—*Guhya-siddhi*. MS. (C.L.B.) No. 1324, p. I (B).

³ *yan mahāsukha-nāthena guhya-tattvam udāhṛtam |*

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 14.

Cf. also: *śrī-mahāsukha-nāthena yathā śrī-dharma-vajriṇe |*

darśitam buddha-tattvā-khyam tathā nātha prasīda me ||

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 40.

Also: *śrī-mahāsukha-nāthasya pāda-padmo-pañcinā |*

racitaḥ padma-vajreṇa sarva-sattvā-nukampayā ||

Also: *vijahāra tataḥ śrī-mān śrī-mahāsukha-vajriṇaḥ ||*

—*Guhya-siddhi*. MS. p. 17.

⁴ *eka-lolī svabhāvena jagad-ākāra-nirmītam |*

śrī-mahāsukha-nāthena adeśyā-kāra-bhedaḥ ||

—*Acintyā-deśya-kramo-padeśa*. MS. (C.L.B.) p. 109(A).

⁵ *kuru padma yathā kāryam dhairya-dhairyam(?) prayogataḥ |*

svayam caṇḍa-mahāroṣaḥ sthito hy atra sadāsukhaḥ ||

—*Ekalla-vīra-caṇḍa-mahā-roṣaṇa-tantra*. MS. (R.A.S.B. 9069) pp. 5(A)-5(B).

⁶ *Cf.* *aho sukhāvatī kṣetra* etc.—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 9(A).

is much lower, in respect of degree as well as in quality, than the bliss that can be realised through the control of this matter, *i.e.*, by checking its downward flow through subtle yogic processes and by giving it an upward flow so as to make it reach the lotus situated in the cerebrum region (*uṣṇīṣa-kamala*, corresponding to the *sahasrāra-padma* of the Hindu Tantras) and to make it steady there : the bliss resulting from the steadiness of the matter is the *Mahāsukha*. But in a popular way we often find semen-virile described as *Mahāsukha*, and it is the Lord Buddha himself. Lord Buddha (Amitābha Buddha) dwells in the elysium of *Sukhāvatī* (the abode of bliss). Here the female organ is described as the *Sukhāvatī* where the Lord *Mahāsukha* dwells in his own nature as supreme bliss. In the *Hevajra-tantra* we find that the Lord (*Bhagavān*) is explaining his own nature to the Bodhisattva Vajragarbha where he says,—“I am existence—I am not existence,—I am Buddha (perfectly enlightened one) as I have perfect knowledge about things : fools can never know anything of me. I dwell in the *Sukhāvatī* of the vagina of the good thunder-woman (*sad-vajra-yoṣit*) which is of the form of the letter ‘e’¹ and which is the abode of the jewels of the Buddhas. I am the preacher, I am the religion—I myself am the audience ; I am the worshipped,—the sovereign of the world,—I am the world and every thing that belongs to the world. I am of the nature of the Sahaja-bliss,—I am *Paramā-nanda* as well as *Viramā-nanda* etc. ; I am the faith, like a light in darkness. I possess the thirty-two marks (of greatness)—I am the lord with the eighty consonants ; I dwell in the *Sukhāvatī* of the vagina of the female in the name of semen.”² It is further said,—

¹ Cf. *ekārākṛti yad dīpṇam* etc. *Supra*.

² *bhāvo'ham naiva bhāvo'ham buddho'ham vastu-bodhanāt |*
mām na jānanti ye mūḍhāḥ kauṣidyo-paḥatāś ca ye || (?)
viḥare'ham sukhāvatyaṁ sad-vajra-yoṣito bhage |
ekārā-di-rūpe tu buddha-ratna karaṇḍake ||
vyākhyātā'ham aham dharmah śrotā'ham sva ganair yutaḥ |
sādhyo'ham jagataḥ śāstā loko'ham laukiko'ham ||
sahajā-nanda-svabhāvo'ham parama vīramā-dikam |
tathā ca pratyayaṁ putra apḍhakāre pradīpavat ||

“Without him (*i.e.*, semen) there is no bliss, and again without bliss he cannot be. As he can never be related, there is no other source of realising him excepting the divine esoteric practice.”¹ It is therefore said that Buddha (in the form of semen) is neither existence nor non-existence; in spite of having a face and form—he is formless in the nature of supreme bliss.²

(E) THE TRANSFORMED IDEA OF BODHICITTA IN RELATION
TO THE ESOTERIC YOGIC PRACTICE

The identification of *Mahāsukha* with *nirvāṇa* or the ultimate reality modified the Mahāyāna conception of Bodhicitta in Vajra-yāna, particularly in the Sahaja-yāna. The Mahāyāna conception of the production of Bodhicitta (*bodhicitto-tpāda*) is transformed in Sahaja-yāna into the production of a state of intense bliss through the sexo-yogic practice; and as after the production, the Bodhicitta rises upwards through ten stages (technically known as the *Bodhisattva-bhūmis*) so also Sahaja-yāna practice involves the yogic process of breath-control and other psycho-physical practices through which the disturbed semen should be checked in the *Maṇipura* (situated near the navel) known generally as the

devātrīṃśal-lakṣaṇo dāstā'āty-anuvyañjano prabhuḥ |
yoṣit-bhage sukhāvatyaṃ śukra-nāmnā vyavasthitaḥ ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS, pp. 36(A)-36(B).

These lines occur also in the *Samputikā*—MS, (R.A.S.B., No. 4854) p. 47(A).

¹ *vinā tena na saukhyaṃ syāt sukhaṃ hitvā bhaven na saḥ |*
sāpekṣam asamarthatvāt devatā-yogatoḥ sukham ||

—*Ibid.*, p. 36(B), *Samputikā*, MS, p. 47(A).

Cf. also the Comm.:—*śukrā-bhāve kāraṇā-ntarāṇām tathāvidha-sukho-tpādane sūmarthyā-bhāvāt |*—*Hevajra-pañjikā*.

² *asmāt buddha na bhāvaḥ syāt abhāva-rūpo'pi naiva saḥ |*
bhūja-mukhā-kāra-rūpī ca arūpī parama-saukhyataḥ ||

—*Ibid.*, MS, p. 36(B).

Cf. also the Comm.:—*na bhāvo nā'bhāvo śukra-rūpatvāt/tatra phalamayi-buddho (?) na bhāvo nā'bhāvaḥ |*—*Hevajra-pañjikā*.

In the *Śrī-kāla-cakra* we find that the downward flow of semen should be checked in the *Maṇipura* (the lotus in the navel) and then, by making it steady, bliss is to be realised; this steady bliss, says the *Kāla-cakra*, at once gives Sahaja, which is the ultimate element of all the things (*dharma*).

tasmāt niṣpanda-saukhyaṃ kṣaṇam iha sahajaṃ dharmadhātur dadāti |

—*Śrī-kāla-cakra-tantra*, MS, p. 105(A).

Nirmāṇa-cakra, and then it must march upwards through the *Dharma-cakra* situated in the heart and the *Sambhoga-cakra* situated in the throat and then reach the *Uṣṇīṣa-kamala* (i.e., the lotus in the head) where it will produce the *Mahāsukha* of the nature of *Nirvāṇa*. The word Bodhicitta sometimes in Vajra-yāna and almost always in Sahaja-yāna is synonymous with the word semen.

This Bodhicitta of the nature of the *Mahāsukha*, produced through yogic practice, is the ultimate substance of the nature of the five elements (*viz.*, earth, water, fire, air and ether). In a *Dohā* of Kāṇhu-pāda this Bodhicitta has been spoken of as the seed of the five elements.¹ In the *Hevajra-tantra* as well as in the *Samputikā* (the same lines occurring in both the texts) we find an explanation of how in the process of being produced through yogic practice the Bodhicitta acquires the nature of the five elements, and we have already seen that the presiding deities over these five elements (confused with the five *skandhas*) are, Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi and Ratnasambhava, and these five Tathāgatas or the Dhyānī Buddhas again represent the five *Kulas* or the families of the esoteric Buddhists. Thus *Mahāsukha* in the form of the Bodhicitta is the one ultimate reality comprising within it the five families of Vajra-yāna.²

¹ pañca mahābhūā via lai sāmaggie jaia |
pūhābi eva tea gaṇḍha-vaha gaṇṇa sañjaia ||

—Dohā No. 7.

² kundureṣu bhavet pañca pañca-bhūta-svarūpataḥ |
eka eva mahā-nandaṁ pañcatām yāti bhedanaiḥ ||
bola-kakkola-yogena sparśāt kāṭhinya-vāsanā |
kāṭhinyasya moha-dharmatevāt moho vairocano mataḥ ||
bodhicittaṁ dravaṁ yasmāt dravaṁ ap-dhātukaṁ matam |
āpam akṣobhya-rūpatvāt doṣaḥ akṣobhya-nāyakaḥ ||
deṣayor gharṣaṇa-saṁyogāt tejah (saṁ)jāyate sadā |
rāgaḥ amita-vajraḥ syāt rāgas tejasi sambhavet ||
kakkolakeṣu yac cittaṁ tat samīraṇa-rūpakam |
īrṣā'moghasiddhiḥ syāt amoghāt vāyu-sambhavaḥ ||
sukhaṁ rāgaṁ bhavet raktaṁ raktir ākāśa-lakṣaṇam |
[sukhaṁ raktaṁ bhavet cittaṁ ratnaṁ tu rakti-lakṣaṇam—Samputikā]
ākāśaṁ pīṣuṇaṁ vajraṁ pīṣuṇam ākāśa-sambhaḥ ||
ekam eva mahac cittaṁ pañca-rūpeṇa lakṣitam |
pañcaṣu kuleṣu'tpannās tatrā'nekā sahasraśaḥ ||
tasmād eka-svabhāvo'sau mahāsukhaḥ parama śāśvataḥ |
pañcatām yāti bhedena rāgādi pañca cetasaḥ ||

—Hevajra-tantra. MS, pp. 37(B)-38(A), Samputikā. MS, pp. 47(B)-48(A).

CHAPTER V

THE ELEMENT OF ESOTERIC YOGA

In the previous chapter we have made an attempt at studying, on textual basis, the theological ideas that are associated with the yogic practice of the Tāntric Buddhists. A scrutiny of the above will confirm our earlier statement that the fundamental standpoint of the Tāntric Buddhists is substantially the same as that of the Hindu Tāntrikas. We hear from the time of the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads that bliss is the quintessence of *Brahman*, the ultimate Being. From bliss proceeds the universe, it is sustained in bliss and it again dissolves in bliss.

According to all schools of Tantra, bliss is the nature of the Absolute, which is conceived both positively and negatively. The Absolute is realised by us when we realise our self as perfect bliss. The ultimate aim is, therefore, to attain a state of perfect bliss. In all our ordinary experiences of pleasure we have but a momentary glimpse of the same bliss as constitutes the ultimate nature of our self. But these experiences of pleasure, because of their extremely limited and defiled nature, bind us to a lower plane of life, instead of contributing to our advancement towards self-realisation. Herein comes the question of Sādhana which may transform even gross sense-pleasure into the boundless serenity of perfect bliss.

In our ordinary life we have the experience of the most intense pleasure in our sex-experiences. Wide is the difference between this sex-pleasure and perfect bliss which is the ultimate nature of the self and the not-self; yet the distinction can be wholly removed by a total change of perspective and process. The sexo-yogic Sādhana of the Tāntrikas is a Sādhana for transforming this sex-pleasure into a realisation of infinite bliss in which the self and the world around are lost

in an all-pervading oneness. This immersion of the self and the not-self in the all-pervading oneness of bliss is what is conceived as Nirvāṇa by the Tāntric Buddhists. Let us now see what practical processes of Yoga were enjoined by the Tāntric Buddhists for the realisation of this end.

(i) *Body—The Medium for Realising the Truth*

(A) THE THEORY OF THE PLEXUS

On the practical side, which obviously is the fundamental side of the Tantras, the most important thing is the stress laid on the body as the medium in and through which truth can be realised. As we have hinted at the very outset, the Buddhist Tāntrikas, in unison with the other schools of Tantra, hold that the body is the abode of all truth; it is the epitome of the universe or, in other words, it is the microcosm, and as such embodies the truth of the whole universe. Attempt has actually been made in many Tantras to identify the universe completely with the body even by locating the seas, rivers, mountains, etc., in the different parts of the body. Whether we are ready to accept them in *toto* or not, the fact remains that the importance of the Tantras, as a science of religious methodology, consists in its analysis of the body and the discovery of all *tattvas* in the nervous system and in the plexus and thus making the body, with the whole physiological and biological process, a perfect medium (*yantra*) for realising the ultimate truth.

Let us now see how the Tantric Buddhists discovered the different *tattvas* within this corporal structure. This question itself will naturally lead us to the physiological analysis of the nerves and the 'lotuses' and this will also help us a good deal in understanding the yogic process of the Tāntric Buddhists.

This analysis of the physical system starts with the spinal cord, widely known as the *Merudaṇḍa*, which is taken to be one bone from the bottom of the back up to the medulla oblongata. The name *Merudaṇḍa* is significant, and the analogy involved in the name is clearly brought

out in the *Śrī-samputikā*, where it has been said that in the form of the skeleton-bone the great mountain Sumeru remains in the body.¹ This spinal column, compared to the mountain, is said to be very profound. It is the cave of the highest truth where all the world vanishes away.² The next thing is the theory of the *cakras* (plexus) or the lotuses as they are also called. According to the Buddhist *Tāntrikas* there are four such plexuses. The first is the lumbar plexus situated in the navel region. The next is the cardiac plexus in the heart. Next is the laryngeal and pharyngeal plexus at the junction of the spinal cord and the medulla oblongata; the last and the most important is the cerebral plexus called the *Uṣṇīṣa-kamala* (the lotus in the head). In the Hindu Tantras, however, there are six *cakras* or plexuses in addition to the *Sahasrāra* or the highest cerebral plexus.³

- ¹ *sthitaḥ pāda-tale vāyuh bhairavo dhanurā-kṛtīḥ |*
sthito'sti kaṭi-deśe tu tri-koṇo-dधारणतथा ||
vartulā-kāra-rūpo hi varuṇas tridale sthitaḥ |
hṛdaye pṛthivī caiva caturasrā samantataḥ ||
kaṅkāla-daṇḍa-rūpo hi sumerur girirāṭ tathā |

- ² *vara giri-kandara guhira jagu tahi saala vi tuṭṭai ||*

—Dohakoṣa of Kāṇhu-pada, Dohā No. 14.

³ The first is the *Mūlādhāra-cakra*, or the sacro-coccygeal plexus, situated between the penis and the anus and facing down; it has four petals of red colour with the four letters "v, ś, ṣ and s". Next is the *Svādhiṣṭhāna-cakra* or the sacral plexus, near the root of the penis with six petals of the colour of vermillion with the letters "b, bh, m, y, r and l". Next is the *Maṇipura-cakra* or the lumbar plexus in the region of the navel; there are ten petals of the colour of the cloud, with the letters "ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, t, th, d, dh, n, p and ph" on them. After that is the cardiac plexus or the *Anāhata-cakra* in the heart, with twelve petals of the colour of the *Bandhuka*-flower (red) with the letters "k, kh, g, gh, ū, c, ch, j, jh, ṣ, ṭ and ṭh" on them. Next is the laryngeal and pharyngeal plexus (*Vīśuddha-cakra*) at the junction of the spinal cord and the medulla oblongata with sixteen petals of smoky colour with the sixteen vowels on them. Above it is the *Ajñā-cakra* between the eye-brows; it is the seat of the mind or the centre of all sense knowledge and dream knowledge. There are only two petals of white colour with the letters "h and kṣ" on them. Above all is the *Sahasrāra-cakra* in the highest cerebral regions. It is of thousand petals of white colour and is facing downward. On the petals the fifty letters including the vowels and the consonants are placed in twenty rounds. In the six *cakras* (excluding the *Sahasrāra*) there are six presiding goddesses, viz., *Dākinī*, *Rākinī*, *Lākinī*, *Kākinī*, *Sākinī* and *Hākinī* respectively. In the *Sahasrāra* there is the union of the Śiva and Sakti. Vide *Ṣaṭ-cakra-nirūpaṇa* of Pūrṇānanda

Of the six *Cakras* described in the Hindu Tantras only three are found in the Buddhist Tantras, viz., the plexuses in the navel region, in the heart and in the region just below the neck (i.e., *Maṇipura-cakra*, *Anāhata* and *Viśuddha-cakra*). The *Sahasrāra* of the Hindu Tantras corresponds to the *Uṣṇīṣa-kamala* of the Buddhists. But the most remarkable thing in the Buddhists' conception of the *Cakras* is the location of the three *kāyas*, viz., *Nirmāṇa-kāya*, *Sambhoga-kāya* and *Dharma-kāya* in these *Cakras*. Thus the lowest *Cakra* in the navel region represents the lowest *kāya*, i.e., *Nirmāṇa-kāya*; the *Cakra* in the heart is identified with the *Dharma-kāya* and the *Cakra* just below the neck is said to be the *Sambhoga-kāya*. In the natural order the *Cakra* in the heart being next to the *Cakra* of *Nirmāṇa-kāya* ought to have been the *Sambhoga-kāya* and the *Cakra* below the neck ought to have been the *Dharma-kāya*; but we do not know why the order has slightly been changed. The *Sahaja-kāya* is located in the *Uṣṇīṣa-kamala* or the *Sahasrāra* of the Hindus. It is also called the *Mahāsukha-cakra* or the *Mahāsukha-kamala* being the seat of great bliss.

In this theory of the *Cakras* there are some anomalies as regards the number, location and the other descriptions. Let us therefore discuss some of the descriptions of the *Cakras* found in the different texts. In the *Heruka-tantra* (thirty-first *paṭala*) we find that in the *Mahāsukha-cakra*, situated in the head, there is a lotus of four petals representing the four noble truths or the four categories (*catuṣkoṭi*); it is pure, of the nature of a circle of enlightenment (*bodhi-maṇḍala*) as the receptacle (*ādhāra*) and the seed (*bīja*) of all; outside is a lotus of thirty-two petals, and inside it is the letter "ha" in the downward way which is of the nature of the Bodhicitta and the fifteen digits of the moon. Inside is the Yoginī of sixteen *kalās* or digits of the moon, carrying intense bliss with her. By the two sides are *lalanā* and *rasanā* of the nature of *ālī* and *kālī*; and the supreme goddess

herself is of the nature of Sahaja-bliss and non-duality.¹ The description seems to be rather significant. The sixteen *kalās* of the Bodhicitta, doubled in day and night seem to be represented by the thirty-two petals of the lotus in the head; and *lalanā* and *rasanā* by the two sides of the *Parameśvarī* (referring to *Avadhūtikā*) of the nature of *āli* and *kāli* are but the two nerves (corresponding to the *Idā* and *Piṅgalā* of the Hindu texts) by the two sides of *Avadhūtikā*, which is of the nature of Sahaja-bliss and non-duality. Next in the neck is the *Sambhoga-cakra* with sixteen petals of red colour, within it is the syllable “*hum*”; above it nectar flows down incessantly through a tunnel.² In the heart is the *Dharma-cakra* with eight petals; it is a *viśva-padma* which is the double lotus, one facing upwards and the other facing downwards; within it is the syllable “*hum*” downwards; a little above there is a white lotus, representing the universe (*brahmāṇḍa-saḍṛśā-kāram*); within that is pure consciousness (*viññānaṁ*) which is ever manifest, all-pervading; it is the receptacle of all, and the source of all self-produced knowledge (*svayambhū-jñānā-dhāram*), it is the great Lord (*parameśvara*).³ In the navel region is a lotus of sixty-four petals of blue colour; within that is the syllable “*am*” like a dazzling pearl. Slightly below is the *kanda* which is the receptacle of all the nerves numbering seventy-two thousand in all. From this *kanda* rise the nerve *lalanā* of the nature of Prajñā and *rasanā* of the nature of Upāya; and in the middle is the Goddess in the form of the universe, represented by the syllable “*am*”,

¹ *śirasi mahāsukha-cakre catur-ddola-padmaṁ śuddhaṁ madasthāne sarvasyā dhāra-rūpatvāt | bodhi-maṇḍala-svabhāvam | bījabhūtam | bāhye deśa-triṁśad-dala-padmaṁ | tan-madhye ka-kāro'dho-mukhaḥ bhavati | bodhicittā-tmakam ce'ndu-kalā-paṇca-daśātmakam | mahāsukhaṁ vāhen nityam yoginī soḍaś kalā || lalanā-rasanā dvayoḥ pārśve āli-kāli-svarūpiṇī | sahajā-nanda-svabhāvaṁ ca advayaṁ parameśvarīm ||*

—*Heruka-tantra*, MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 11279), pp. 73(B)-74(A).

² Cf. *kaṇṭhe sambhoga-cakran tu ṣoḍaśa-dala-raktakam | tanmadhye hum-kāram | tasyo'rdhve ghaṇṭikā-randhra-mārgena amṛtaṁ pravati nīrantaram |*

—*Heruka-tantra*, MS., p. 74(A).

³ *Heruka-tantra*—MS., p. 71(B).

she is of the nature of the four 'bodies' and grants all perfection and supreme bliss.¹

According to the *Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā*, the *Uṣṇīṣa-padma* possesses four petals, the lotus in the forehead possesses sixteen petals, the lotus in the heart possesses thirty-two petals and the lotus in the navel region possesses sixty-four petals.²

In the *Śrī-samputa* we find that the four *Cakras* are associated with the four *Mudrās*, viz., *Karma-mudrā*, *Dharma-mudrā*, *Mahā-mudrā* and *Samaya-mudrā*, which are again associated with the goddesses *Locanā*, *Māmakī*, *Pāṇḍarā* and *Tārā* respectively who again in their turn are the presiding goddesses over the elements (confused with the *skandhas*, as we have already seen) of earth, water, fire and air; these are again represented by the syllables 'e, vam, ma and yā' (Cf. *evam mayā śrutam*, etc.). Thus the *Nirmāṇa-cakra* in the navel region stands for the element of earth represented by the syllable 'e' and presided over by the goddess *Locanā*, who is associated with the *Karma-mudrā*. In this way the elements with their syllabic symbols and presiding deities and the associated *Mudrās* are located in the other three *Cakras*.³ It may be noted in this connec-

¹ *Heruka-tantra*, pp. 74(A)-74(B).

² G.O.S., p. 27.

³ *ekāraṁ prthivī jñeyā karma-mudrā tu locanā |*
mahā-kṛpā mahā-pāyā viśva-rūpā viśva-gocarā ||
sthitā nirmāṇa-cakre vai nābhau viśva-paṅkaje ||
vam-kāraṁ tu jalam jñeyā dharma-mudrā tu māmakī |
maitrī prañidhī-rūpā tu devī vajra-mukhe sthitā ||
dharma-cakre tu hṛdaye aṣṭa-dalā-mbuje ||
ma-kāraṁ vahnir uddiṣṭo mahā-mudrā tu pāṇḍarā |
muditā-bala-yogena devī padma-kulo-dbhavā ||
sthitā sambhoga-cakre tu kaṇṭhe devy-aṣṭa-dalā-mbuje ||
yā-kāro vāyu-rūpo'stu sarva-kleśa-prabhaṅjakah |
mahā-samaya-mudrā vai devī karma-kulā mukhyā ||
upekṣā jñāna-yogena tāra saṁsāra-kāriṇī |
mahāsukha-cakre tu dvā-trimśad-dala-paṅkaje ||

—*Śrī-samputikā*, MS, p. 10(A).

Cf. *tatra nābhyabje bhuvah pañca-guṇā gandha rūpa-rasa-sparśa-śabda-lakṣaṇāḥ |*
hṛdayābje toyasya catvāro guṇā rūpa-rasa-sparśa-śabda-lakṣaṇāḥ |

tion that according to the Hindu Tantras also we find that the *Cakras* or the *Padmas* are associated with different goddesses, viz., *Dākinī*, *Rākinī*, *Lākinī*, *Kākinī*, *Sākinī*, and *Hākinī*, and we also find that the *Mūlādhāra-cakra* represents earth, *Svādhiṣṭhāna* water, *Maṇipura* fire, *Anāhata* air and *Viśuddha* ether.¹ Again goddess *Locanā* in the *Nirmāṇa-cakra* represents universal compassion (*karuṇā*), *Māmakī* in the *Sambhoga-cakra* represents universal brotherhood (*maitrī*) and concentration (*pranidhi*), *Pāṇḍarā* represents self-contentment (*muditā*) and *Tārā* represents absolute indifference (*upekṣā*).² These descriptions of the *Cakras* are also confirmed by the *Hevajra-tantra*,³ and the *Hevajra-tantra* reminds us in this connection that as the *Cakras* are four in number, all the *tattvas* are four. Thus four are the moments,⁴ viz., *vicitra*, *vipāka*, *vimarda* and *vilakṣaṇa*; four are the *aṅgas* (stages in the methods of the *Sādhana*), viz., *sevā*, *upa-sevā*, *sādhana* and *mahā-sādhana*; four are the noble truths (*ārya-satya*), viz., sorrow, its cause, its suppression and the way of suppressing it; four are the *tattvas*, viz., the *tattva* of the self (*ātma-tattva*), the *tattva* of the Mantras (*mantra-tattva*), the *tattva* of the gods (*devatā-tattva*) and the *tattva* of knowledge (*jñāna-tattva*); four are the *ānandas* (states of bliss), viz., *ānanda*, *paramānanda*, *viramānanda*, and *sahajānanda*; four are the *Nikāyas*, viz., *Sthavira-vāda*, *Sarvāsti-vāda*, *Samvidi-vāda* and *Mahāsāṅghika*; sixteen (which is a multiple of four) are

*kaṇṭhābje agnes trayo guṇā rasa-sparśa-śabda-lokaṇāḥ | lalāṭābje maruto deau
guṇau sparśa-śabda-lakṣaṇau | uṣṇīṣābje sūnyasya śabda-mātram eko guṇaḥ |*
—*Śekoddeśa-ṭīkā* (G.O.S.), p. 51.

¹ Vide *Ṣaṭ-cakra-nirūpaṇam*, ed. by A. Avalon.

Cf. Also: *Anandalahari* quoted in the commentary of the verse No. 8 of the *Ṣaṭcakra-viṇyāsa* of Viśvanātha, ed. by A. Avalon.

² See fn. 3 of the previous page

³ *e-kāreṇa locanā devī caṇ-kāreṇa māmakī smṛtā |*
ma-kāreṇa pāṇḍarā ca yā-kāreṇa ca taruṇī ||
karmamudrā-dharmamudrā-mahāmudrā-samayamudrāḥ | *nirmāṇa-cakre*
padmaṁ catuḥ-ṣaṣṭi-dalam | *dharma-cakre aṣṭa-dalam |* *sambhoga-cakre goḍaṣa-dalam |*
mahāsukhe dvātriṃśad-dalam |

⁴ For the interpretation of the 'moments' see *Infra*.

the *Sanḅkrāntis*,¹ sixty-four (multiple of four) are the *danḁas*, thirty-two nerves, four *praharas*—and thus all are four (or multiples of four).² About the number of the petals of these *Cakras* or lotuses the *Hevajra-tantra* holds the same view. As in the Hindu-tantras, here also there is the scheme of arranging the letters on the petals of the lotuses.³ But in some texts the *Nirmāṇa-cakra*, instead of being located in the navel region, is located in the region near about the sex-organ. Thus it is said in the *Hevajra-tantra* (the verses being found also in the *Samputikā*) that four are the *kāyas*, viz., *Dharma*, *Sambhoga*, *Nirmāṇa* and *Mahāsukha*, of which the first three are situated near the sex-organ, the heart and the neck respectively. *Nirmāṇa-kāya* is the region whence all the animate and the inanimate originate and therefore it is located near the sex-organ. The *Dharma-cakra* is of the nature of the consciousness of all the *dharma*s and is located in the heart. *Sambhoga* means enjoyment of the six *rasas*; the *Sambhoga-kāya* is of the nature of all-existence (as pure delight) and is situated near the neck; the *Mahāsukha-kāya* is in the head.⁴ Then it has been said that *Sthāvarī* is in the *Nirmāṇa-cakra* wherefrom all the static

¹ See *Infra*.

² *Hevajra-tantra*—MS. pp. 4(A)-4(B).

³ Vide *Hevajra-pañjika* or *Yoga-ratnamālā*.

—MS. (Cambridge Add. No. 1699) p. 6(B).

⁴ *tri-kāyaṃ deha-madhye tu cakra-rūpeṇa kathyate |*
tri-kāyasya pañca-jñānaṃ cakram mahāsukhaṃ matam ||
dharma-sambhoga-nirmāṇaṃ mahāsukhaṃ tathaiṃ ca |
yonī-hṛt-kaṇṭha-madhye tu trayas kāyāḥ vyavasthitāḥ ||
aśeṣāṇāṃ tu satteṣāṇāṃ yatro'tpattiḥ pramīyate |
tatra nirmāṇa-kāyaḥ syāt nirmāṇaṃ sthāvaraṃ yataḥ ||
utpadyate nimīyate anena nirmāṇikaṃ matam (not found in the Samputikā)
dharma-citta-svarūpaṃ tu dharma-cakram tu hyd bhavet ||
sambhogaṃ bhuñjanaṃ proktaṃ saṃjñāṃ vai rasa-rūpiṇāṃ |
sarva-dharmeṣu dḁdhatvāt sarvaṃ asti-svarūpakaḥ (not found in the Hevajra-tantra)
kaṇṭhe sambhoga-cakram ca mahā-sukhaṃ śirasi sthitam ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS. p. 50(A); *Samputikā*, MS. p. 46(B). For the location of the *Nirmāṇa-cakra* in the region of the sex-organ see also *Śrī-kāla-cakra-tantra*—MS. Cambridge, (Add. 1364) p. 24(A).

(*sthāvara*) originate. What is exactly meant by this *Sthāvarī* we are not sure; but it seems from the context that it may refer to the old *Sthavira-vāda* or *Thera-vāda* (the school of the elders). The *Sarvāsti-vāda* or the Realistic School which originated from a scrutiny into the nature of the *dharma*s (things) is said to be in the *Dharma-cakra*; *Samvidi-vāda* is in the neck, whence are all our perceptions (*saṃvedana*); *Mahāsāṃghī* is in the *Sukha-cakra*, and *Mahāsukha* is in the head.¹ The *Samvidi-vāda* generally refers to the school of *Vijñāna-vāda*, but in the commentary of the *Hevajra-tantra* *Samvidī* is explained as referring to those who realise high emotions; *Mahāsukha* being the ultimate unity of all the *dharma*s, *Mahāsukha-cakra* is the *Mahāsāṃghī*.² Again it is explained that the body (*kāya*) is called the *Nikāya* which is explained in the commentary as the assemblage of the *Bhikṣus* (*Bhikṣu-saṅgha*), and the *udara* (literally the belly, but explained in the commentary as the womb of the mother, *mātuḥ kukṣiḥ*) is called the monastery (*vihāra*).³

(B) THE NERVE SYSTEM

After the discussion on the *Cakras* the next important thing is the analysis of the nerves. In general the nerves are said to be seventy-two thousand in number (excluding the smaller nerves, i.e., the *upa-nāḍīs*, which are innumerable). The Hindu Tantras and the Yogo-paniṣads in general agree with the Buddhist Tantras as to the total number of the nerves (though controversies are also found). Of these,

¹ *sthāvarī nirmāṇa-cakre tu nirmāṇaṁ sthāvaraṁ yataḥ |*
sarvāsti-vādo dharma-cakre ca dharma-vāda-samudbhavaḥ ||
saṃvidī sambhoga-cakre ca kaṇṭhe saṃvedanaṁ yataḥ |
mahāsāṃghī sukha-cakre ca mahāsukhaṁ mastake sthitam ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 50(B); *Samputikā*, MS., p. 46(B).

² *mahatteṣṭ sarva-dharmāṇāṁ saṅghateṣṭ mahāsukha-cakraṁ mahāsāṃghī |*
ata evaṁ āha | (māta)ke śirasi sarveṣāṁ upari sthitam |

—*Hevajra-panjikā*, MS. (Cambridge Add. No. 1699), p. 59(A).

³ *nikāyaṁ kāyaṁ ityuktam udaraṁ vithāram ucyate |*

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 50(B); *Samputikā*, MS., p. 46(B).

again, thirty-two are said to be more important,¹ and of these thirty-two, again, three are the most important,—these are *Lalanā*, *Rasanā* and *Avadhūtī* corresponding to *Idā*, *Piṅgalā* and *Suṣumnā* of the Hindu system. *Lalanā* is the nerve in the left side and *Rasanā* in the right side. There are pairs of names for them, of which some of the more important are :—*Āli* and *Kāli*, *e* and *vaṁ*, *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā*, *Candra* and *Sūrya*, *Dhamana* and *Camana*, *Grāhya* and *Grāhaka*, *Prajñā* and *Upāya*, etc.² About the position of these nerves we find in the Hindu Tantras that inside the passage of the spinal cord (according to some outside the spinal cord) flows the nerve *Suṣumnā*, which in reality is made up of three nerves, viz., *citrinī* of the nature of *Sattva-guṇa* (intelligence stuff), *vajrā* of the nature of *Rajas* (energy), and *Suṣumnā* of the nature of *Tamas* (inertia). All the nerves start from a seat called the *Kanda* which is situated about one inch above the anus and one inch below the penis. The *Suṣumnā* seems to be a sort of duct inside the spinal cord and encases within it the nerve *vajrā*, which again encases within it the *citrinī*, which again has an aperture called the *Brahma-randhra* running to the *Sahasrāra*. The *Idā* and the *Piṅgalā* are outside the spinal cord and proceed from the left and the right sides respectively towards the nasal region in a symmetrical course encircling all the *Cakras*. According to other views, the *Idā* and the *Piṅgalā* proceed from the right and left testicles respectively and pass on to the left and right of the *Suṣumnā* in the bent form of a bow. The *Idā* is also called the moon, it is of white colour, and is the *Śakti*; the *Piṅgalā* is the sun, it is of red colour and is the *puruṣa*;

¹ For a list of these thirty-two principal nerves, see *Śrī-sampuṭikā*, p. 3(B).

² If all the names given to these two nerves in the left and the right are classified into two groups, the two groups will stand thus:

(i) *Dakṣiṇa* (right)—*rasanā*, *piṅgalā*, *sūrya*, *ravi*, *agni*, *prāṇa*, *camana*, *kāli*, *bīṇḍu*, *upāya*, *yamunā*, *rakta*, *palita*, *sūkṣma*, *retas*, *dharma*, *sthira*, *para*, *dyau*, *bheda*, *oitta*, *vidyā*, *rajas*, *bhāva*, *puruṣa*, *śiva*, *nirmāṇa-kāya* and *grāhya*.

(ii) *Vāma* (left)—*lalanā*, *idā*, *candra*, *śafin*, *soma*, *apāna*, *dhamana*, *āli*, *nāda*, *prajñā*, *gaṅgā*, *śukra*, *balī*, *sthūla*, *rajas*, *adharma*, *asthira*, *apara*, *prthivī*, *abheda*, *acitta*, *avidyā*, *tamas*, *abhāva*, *prakṛti*, *śakti*, *sambhoga-kāya* and *grāhaka*.

Vide *Studies in the Tantras* by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, p. 69.

Suṣumnā is of the nature and of the colour of fire. The three are again said to be the rivers, *Yamunā*, *Sarasvatī* and *Gaṅgā* respectively and the three meet at a point at the root of the penis, which is regarded as the *trivenī* or the confluence of the three rivers. Through these *Idā* and *Piṅgalā* blow the vital winds *prāṇa* and *apāna*.

In the Buddhist Tantras we find that the nerve *Lalanā* or the *Āli* starts from the neck and enters the navel region from the left side, and from the navel again starts the *Rasanā* or the *Kāli* and enters the neck from the right. Within these two and passing through the lotus in the heart (*hṛt-saroruha-madhyagā*) is the *Avadhūtī*, through which flows the Bodhicitta, and this *Avadhūtīkā* leads to the Sahaja-bliss, and it itself is often described as the Sahaja-bliss. The most important thing is that the nerves in the left and the right have been identified with *Sūnyatā* and *Karuṇā* or *Prajñā* and *Upāya*, the two cardinal principles of Mahāyāna Buddhism; and the *Avadhūtī*, as their commingling, is the Bodhicitta or the goddess *Nairātmā* or the Sahaja-damsel.¹ We have discussed at length the question how these nerves *Lalanā* and *Rasanā* are identified or associated with *Sūnyatā* and *Karuṇā*, *Prajñā* and *Upāya*, *Āli* and *Kāli*, etc. In the *Ekalla-vīra-caṇḍa-mahā-roṣaṇa-tantra* we find that the Lady (the female counterpart of *Caṇḍaroṣaṇa*) asks the Lord (*Caṇḍaroṣaṇa*) how the bliss produced through *Prajñā* and *Upāya* can be enjoyed in the body. In reply the Lord says that there is the nerve in the left, named *Lalanā* which is of the nature of *Prajñā* and in the right is the nerve *Rasanā* of the nature of *Upāya*.² Through the commingling of these two nerves in the middle nerve the bliss of *Prajñā-upāya* is to be realised. We should also notice that these three nerves *Lalanā*, *Rasanā*

¹ *Heruka-tantra*—MS. (R.A.S.B., No. 11279) p. 8(A), pp. 13(B)-15(A).

Cf. *Vajra-vārāhī-kalpa-mahā-tantra*—MS. (R.A.S.B., No. 11285) p. 26(B).

² *lalanā prajñā-svabhāvena cōma-nāḍī prakīrtitā |*

rasanā co'pāya-rūpeṇa dakṣiṇe samavasthitā ||

—*Ekalla-vīra-caṇḍa-mahā-roṣaṇa-tantra*—MS. (R.A.S.B., No. 9069) p. 15(A).

Cf. Also. *Akulāgama-tantra*, quoted in the *Studies in the Tantras* of Dr. P. C. Bagchi, p. 69.

and *Avadhūtī* have also been identified with the three *Kāyas*, viz., *Sambhoga*, *Nirmāṇa* and *Dharma*. Again, we have seen that the *Lalanā* is said to carry the seed and *Rasanā* the ovum and *Avadhūtī* to carry Bodhicitta (which is a mixture of the seed and the ovum). Again *Prajñā* and *Upāya* mean subjectivity and objectivity or the *grāhaka* and the *grāhya*, and so these two nerves are also called *grāhya-grāhaka*.¹ About the names *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā* we may also compare the Hindu Tantras where *Idā* is said to be the river Yumnā, *Piṅgalā* the river *Sarasvatī* and *Suṣumnā* the Ganges.² The names *Lalanā* and *Rasanā* and *Dhamana-Camana* seem to be rather technical.³

The most common names for the pair of the nerves in the right and the left are the sun and the moon. These names are found in the Buddhist and the Hindu Tantras alike. The nerves in the left and the right are called the *Āli* and the *Kāli* which represent the vowels and the consonants, which again in their turn are associated with the night and the day; the night and the day are again associated with the moon and the sun,—and thus the nerves in the left and the right are also called the moon and the sun. The *Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā* speaks of these two nerves as day and night.⁴ The *Sammohana-tantra* says that the left nerve is the moon because of its mild nature, whereas the nerve in the right is called the sun because of its fierce nature (*raudrā-tmikā*). We have also seen that the left nerve is said to carry the

¹ *gaṅgā-yamunā ti sandhyayā candrā-bhāsa-sūryā-bhāsau grāhya-grāhakau—*Comm. on Song. No. 14, *Caryā-pada* (Śāstrī's edition).

² *idāyām yamunā-devī piṅgalāyām sarasvatī |*
suṣumnāyām vased gaṅgā tāsām yogas tridhā bhavet ||

—*Ṣaṭ-cakra-nirūpaṇam*, Comm. on the first verse.

Saraha said in a *Dohā*,—'here (within the body) are the Ganges and the Jumna,'—Saraha's *Dohākoṣa*, *Dohā*, No. 47.

³ Dr. P. C. Bagchi, however, suggests that *dhamana* may be derived from *√dhmā* which indicates a forward or outward movement, whereas *camana* may be derived from *√cam* which means 'to eat', i.e., taking in.—Vide *Studies in the Tantras*, p. 65.

⁴ *divā na pūjayet līgaṁ rātrau caiva na pūjayet |*
sarvadā pūjayet līgaṁ divā-rātri-nirodhataḥ ||

seed and the right the ovum ; the seed is said to be the Śiva—it is the moon,—and the blood is the Śakti,—it is the sun.¹ In the commentary on the *Dohākoṣa* of Kāṇhu-pāda we find that the moon originates from the seed and the sun from the ovum.² These two nerves are also said to carry the vital winds *prāṇa* and *apāna* and the *prāṇa* has again been said to be the *Rāhu* and the *apāna* to be the 'fire of time' (*kālāgni*).³ About the names *Āli* and *Kāli* we find in the commentary of the *Marmakalikā-tantra* that *Āli* and *Kāli* represent the vowels and the consonants which are forty-nine in number ('kṣ', being a mere combination of the letters 'k' and 'ṣ', is excluded), and forty-nine are the *Vāyus* (winds) and thus *Āli* and *Kāli* denote the winds and are thus associated with the two nerves in the right and the left.⁴ In the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā cult of Bengal we find *Idā*, *Piṅgalā* and *Suṣumnā* identified with *Vāyu*, *Pitta* and *Kapha*.⁵

In the *Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā* of *Nāḍa-pāda* we find mention of five important nerves, presided over by the five Tathāgatas. According to it, the left nerve in the upper region, which is the moon, the *Lalanā* or the *Idā*, which carries water, is of the nature of the Tathāgata Amitābha ; the right nerve, which is the sun, the *Rasanā*, which carries fire, is of the nature of Ratnasambhava ; in the middle of the lower region is the nerve (passage?) for stool, carrying earth, and it is of the nature of Vairocana ; the left nerve (in the lower region) is the nerve for urine and carries air and is of the nature of Amogha-siddhi ; the middle nerve of the upper region is the nerve *Rāhu* carrying *Śūnyatā* and is of the nature of

¹ binduḥ divo rajaḥ śaktir binduḥ indū rajo raviḥ |

—Gorakṣa-siddhānta saṁgraha, ed. by Gopīnātha Kavirāja, p. 41.

² śukrād utpadyate candro raktāt sūrya-samudbhavaḥ |

—Comm. on *Dohākoṣa* of Kāṇhu-pāda, MS. p. 38(B).

³ prāṇato rāhu-niṣpattīḥ kālāgnir apy apānatoḥ ||

—Ibid., MS. p. 38(B).

⁴ MS. B.N. Sans. No. 83, p. 9(B).

⁵ idā, piṅgalā suṣumnā tina nāḍī kaya |

vāi pitta śleṣā bali loke yāre kaya ||

—Nāyikā-sādhana-ṭīkā, quoted in the *Post-Chaitanya Sahajiyā Cult*, by M. M. Bose, M.A., p. 71.

Akṣobhya ; the left nerve below it is the channel for semen ; it carries knowledge (*jñāna-vāhinī*) and is of the nature of the Vajra-sattva.¹

The middle nerve is generally called the *Avadhūtī*. The word has been explained in the following way,—*Avadhūtī* is that which destroys through its effulgent nature all the sins.² In the commentary of the *Caryā-pada* also *Avadhūtī* is described as that which washes away all the beginningless thought-construction of existence.³ It has also been said to be *Avadhūtī* as it removes all the evils of afflictions very easily.⁴ It is also called, as we have already said, the goddess Prajñā, or the Nairātmā, the Yoginī or the Sahaja-damsel.

(ii) Selection of the Preceptor

Yogic practice is always indispensable for the attainment of the Bodhicitta. It is said in the *Pāñca-krama* that the vows and practices (*vrata-caryā-dikam*) are indeed useless without the *tattva* ; but perfect enlightenment again can never be attained without practice. As the fire in the log of wood never manifests itself without friction, so the *Bodhi* (which is already within) will never be produced without proper practice.⁵ In this practice great importance has been attached to the selection of the preceptor,—for it is neither by much reading nor by penances, nor by any amount of labour undertaken in innumerable practices that a *Sādhaka* can get at the truth ; it has been repeated over and over again that truth can never be attained without the blessings of the

¹ G.O.S., p. 51.

² *acāṁ pāpāṁ dhuraṁ (?) dhvastaṁ prabhāsvara-rūpatvāt anaye'ty avadhūtī* |
—Comm. on the *Dohākoṣa* of Kāphu-pāda (*Dohā*, No. 4) MS., No. B. N. Sans.

47, p. 39(B).

³ *avadhūtī śabda-sandhyayā anādi-bhāva-vikalpaṁ ca dhūtvā prakṛti-pari-*
śuddhā-avadhūtī-rūpeṇa, etc.—Comm. on Song No. 2.

⁴ *acakelayā anābhogena kleśā-di-pāpāṁ dhūnoti ity avadhūtī* |

—Comm. on the *Dohākoṣa* (*Dohā* No. 4) of Kāphu-pāda (ed. by MM.H. P.

Śāstrī).

⁵ *yathā'gnir dāru-garbhasṭho no'ttiṣṭhien manthanād vinā* |

tathā'bhyāsād vinā bodhi (r) jāyete neha janmani || —MS, p. 24(B).

preceptor. Common sense will allow us to understand that where there is anything practical to be performed, there naturally comes the question of adopting a proper guide,—and Indian religions, from the very beginning in the Vedic time down to the modern era, invariably involve some kind of practice either ceremonial and ritualistic or yogic ; hence is the importance of the *Guru*. The *Guru* is very often regarded higher than God himself, for God is something absolutely fictitious to a man who has not been blessed by the practical instruction of the *Guru* which enables a man to realise what God or the ultimate reality is. The Tantras, as we have seen, lay the greatest emphasis on the practical aspect of religion and the practices enjoined in the Tantras are very secret and complex,—there is the chance of physical or mental aberration at every step. As on the one hand, these practices, when properly and systematically carried out, may lead a man to the highest spiritual elevation through the realisation of the truth ; on the other hand, they may lead a man to the darkest abyss of hell, if these are not very cautiously and methodically carried out with the directions of the experienced *Guru*. Because of this difficulty in carrying out these practices and because of the great dangers they may very easily lead to, these practices have always been kept most secret and there is no other way to learn them than the blessings of the well-experienced *Guru*. It is for this reason that we find in most of the Tantras chapters devoted to the selection of a good preceptor and a good disciple. Even the *Caryā*-songs and the *Dohās* of the *Siddhā-cāryas* refer to this importance of the *Guru* every now and then. This *Guru-vāda* in India, current from a very old time and emphasised in the Tāntric ages, has also flowed on in all the minor religious sects of India.

After securing a suitable preceptor and also a suitable *Prajñā* (woman) the Yogin should approach the reverend *Guru* and propitiate him by worship, hymns, etc. Then follows the ceremony of *Abhiṣeka* or initiation into the cult. This *Abhiṣeka* is a very old custom of initiation with religious rites and ceremonies and it is also found in early

Buddhism in the initiation to the vow of *pabbajjā* (*pravrajyā*, literally, going out, *i.e.*, the vow of renunciation) and the initiation to *upasampadā* (literally, arrival, *i.e.*, the entry into the circle of the fully accredited members of the Saṅgha or monastery). Even now this ceremony of *Abhiṣeka* is current in all schools of Buddhism in all the countries. This *Abhiṣeka* is held to be indispensable for the *Sādhana* in esoteric Buddhism. It is said that the Yogin who wishes to attain the Yogihood without proper initiation only darts a blow at the sky with fists and drinks the water of mirage.¹ The *Abhiṣeka* in the secret cult is generally known as the *Vajrā-bhiṣeka*.² In some texts we find Mantras for four kinds of *Abhiṣeka*, viz., *Kalasā-bhiṣeka* (*i.e.*, initiation by outward purification by the water of the jar, etc.), *Guhyā-bhiṣeka* (initiation into the secret cult), *Prajñā-bhiṣeka* (initiation to perfect wisdom) and *Vajrā-bhiṣeka* (*i.e.*, initiation to the adamantine truth).³ In the *Sekatā-nvaya-saṃgraha* we find that this *Kalasā-bhiṣeka* comprises within it six *Abhiṣekas*, viz., initiation with *Udaka* (water), *Mukuta* (a crown), *Vajra* (the thunder), *Ghaṇṭā* (the bell), *Nāma* (name) and *Ācārya* (the preceptor), and these six *Abhiṣekas* are of the nature of the six *Tathāgatas*.⁴ Thus the initiation with water is of the nature of ideal knowledge, and so of Akṣobhya;⁵ the initiation with the crown is of the nature of equalising knowledge (*samatā-jñāna*), and so is of the nature of *Ratnasambhava*; initiation with the thunder is of the nature of discriminative knowledge and represents *Amitābha*; the initiation with the bell is of the nature of the performance of duties and so represents *Amogha-siddhi*: the initia-

¹ *nā'bhiṣikto hi yo yogī yogiteam abhisāñchati |
hanyate muṣṭiṇā'kāśaṃ pīret ca myga-tṛṇikām ||*

—Quoted in the *Kriyā-saṃgraha-pañjikā*, MS, p. 5(A).

² For this *Abhiṣeka*, see *Prajñā-pāya-viniścaya-siddhi*, Ch. V, *Jñāna-siddhi*, Ch. XVII; *Samputikā*, first paṭala of the second Kalpa, etc.

³ Vide the Ch. on *Abhiṣeka* in the *Kriyā-saṃgraha-pañjikā*, MS, pp. 4(A)-6(B); *Sekatā-nvaya-saṃgraha*, collected in the *Adeya-vajra-saṃgraha* (G.O.S.), *Hevajra-tantra*, *Maṇḍala-krama*; *Sekoddeśa-ṭikā* (G.O.S.).

⁴ Vide *Srī-cakra-sambhāra-tantra*.

⁵ *Adeya-vajra-saṃgraha*, pp. 36-37.

tion with a name is of the nature of the knowledge of the perfectly pure *dharma-dhātu* and represents Vairocana and the initiation by the *Ācārya* is of the nature of the adamantine knowledge (*vajra-jñāna*).¹ But in general *Kalasā-bhīṣeka* seems to be the rite of initiation by pouring the water of the jar. Next is the *Guhyā-bhīṣeka* or the initiation into the secret cult. Here the preceptor explains all the secret processes of the yogic *sādhana* by which Bodhicitta should be produced through the union of the *Upāya* and the *Prajñā*, how its downward tendency should be checked, how it should be sent upward to the *Uṣṇīṣa-kāmala* and how *Mahāsukha* of the nature of *nirvāṇa* is to be attained. After the *Guhyā-bhīṣeka* the preceptor explains to the disciples the void nature of the self (*pudgala*) as well as of all the objects (*dharma*), and also how this yogic process leads a man to the realisation of that perfect knowledge (*prajñā*). This part is, therefore, called the *Prajñā-bhīṣeka* or the *Prajñā-jñānā-bhīṣeka*. But as *Vajra* is the ultimate adamantine reality and the ultimate principle of purity, the initiation ends with an initiation into the *Vajra-jñāna* called the *Vajra-jñānā-bhīṣeka*.

After initiation the Yogin with his *Mudrā* is led to the *Maṇḍala* or the mystic circle and is then permitted to perform the Yoga in company of the *Mudrā* or the *Prajñā*.² In some texts, however, the initiation is performed within the *Maṇḍala*.

In some texts again we find other preparatory rites of killing or driving away the disturbing ghosts and spirits and all other evils of the ten quarters through the help of Mantras and other practices, and of placing the ten Buddhas in the ten quarters for safety in Yoga. We have already seen that in this *yoga-sādhana* the Yogin has to be a god,—he must realise himself as the god or the Supreme Lord Buddha, and the woman to be united with, must be realised to be nothing

¹ For the *Abhīṣekas* also see *Vajra-vali-nā na-maṇḍala-pañjikā*—MS. R.A.S.B., No. 13855, pp. 80(A)—81(B) and 98(A)—100(A).

² For details see *Hevajra-tantra*; also, *Śekoddeśa-ṭikā* (G.O.S.), p. 25. The *Prajñā* here is called *Mudrā* as she is instrumental to the attainment of bliss (*mudam sukha-viśeṣam vāti dadāti'ti mudrā*—*Śekoddeśa-ṭikā*, p. 56).

but the embodiment of Prajñā or *Sūnyatā*-knowledge. For this realisation the Yogin places the five *Tathāgatas* and their female counterparts with their respective *bīja-mantras* in the different parts of the body (both of himself and of the *Mudrā*), and during all these processes he should meditate and recite that he is of the nature of adamant knowledge.¹

(iii) *The Production of Bodhicitta and Its Regulation*

After all these preparatory rites follows the esoteric practice, which is strictly prohibited to be taken in the ordinary sense; it should be performed only as a process of Yoga for the attainment of the Bodhicitta or for the realisation of the ultimate Sahaja-nature of the self and the *dharma*s.² Through the yogic union of the Prajñā and the Upāya, the Bodhicitta is produced within, and after it is produced its flow must be checked in the navel region which is the *Maṇipura-cakra* or the *Nirmāṇa-kāya-cakra*.³ It is held that as long as the Bodhicitta remains restless, it binds us to the world of existence and non-existence; but when its

¹ Cf. The *Piṇḍi-krama* of *Pañca-krama*; *Jvālā-valī-vajra-mālā-tantra*—MS. pp. 14(A)—14(B); *Citta-viśuddhi-prakaraṇa*, Verses 76-78.

² Cf. *Manthayet kamalā-mbhodhiṃ saha-jā-mṛta-kāṅkṣayā* |

Jvālā-valī-vajra-mālā-tantra—MS. p. 18(B).

This line is quoted in the *Marma-kalikā-tantra* as belonging to the *Guhya-vajra-virūṣinī-sādhana*—MS. (B.N. Sans. No. 83) p. 26(A).

³ Vide *Śrī-kāla-cakra-tantra*, MS. (Cambridge, Add. No. 1364) p. 101(B).

Cf. Comm. on *Caryā-pada* No. 2, *piṭhake vajra-maṇan patat dharaṇam na yāti*.

vajra-maṇi-śikhara-suśire bodhicittam vandhayati |

—Comm. on *Caryā-pada*, No. 3.

maṇi-kule bahis oḍāne sagāa ||—Song, No. 4.

maṇi-mūlād ūrdhvaṃ gateṣu gateṣu mahāsukha-cakre antar-bhavati |

—Comm. on Song, No. 4.

maṇi-mūla-dvāra-nirodham kartavyam | *Ibid.*

kacchika-maṇi-mūlam gatam, tad eva bodhicittam saha-jānandena vidhytam sad vaimalyam cakro-ddeśena pravāhaṃ kuru | —Comm. on Song, No. 13.

See also *Pañca-krama* of *Ghaṇṭāpāda* quoted in the *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha* of Bendall, p. 72; *Kriyā-saṃgraha-pañjikā*, MS, p. 75(A); *Marma-kalikā-tantra*, MS, p. (4B).

movement is stopped once for ever in the lotus in the head, it produces the state of supreme bliss which is of the nature of liberation. Thus this Bodhicitta has got two aspects; in the ordinary restless aspect it is called the *saṃvṛta* and in the motionless aspect of intense bliss it is called the *vivṛta* or the *pāramārthika*. It is said in the *Hevajra-tantra*,—"One should produce Bodhicitta in the form of both *vivṛta* and *saṃvṛta*; the *saṃvṛta* is like a *Kunda* flower (i.e., white in its physical form), and the *vivṛta* is of the form of bliss." ¹ We have seen that the Mādhyamikas believe in two aspects of the reality, the *saṃvṛti-satya*, i.e., the phenomenal or the provisional truth and the *pāramārthika-satya* which is the ultimate truth (corresponding to the *vyāvahārika* and *pāramārthika* of the Vedantists). This twofold aspect of the Bodhicitta, the physical or the phenomenal aspect (in the form of semen virile) being the *saṃvṛta* and the ultimate aspect (in the form of incorporeal all-pervading *Mahāsukha* as the ultimate nature of the dharmas) being the *pāramārthika* or the *vivṛta* seems to be drawn in analogy with the twofold conception of the truth of the Mādhyamikas.² For the attainment of the *Mahāsukha* the flow of Bodhicitta must be arrested. It is said that as long as the Yogin does not discharge Bodhicitta, he enjoys intense and unruffled bliss arising from the joyous sensations; but if Bodhicitta, which is the cause of all perfection, flows down, it cannot be made

¹ *bodhicittam utpādayet saṃvṛtti-saṃvṛtti-rūpakam |*
saṃvṛttam kunda-saṃkāśam vivṛttam sukha-rūpiṇam ||

Hevajra-tantra. MS₁ pp. 47(B)—48(A).

Cf. also: *Heruka-tantra*, MS. (R.A.S.B., No. 11279) p. 74(A).

² In the *Hevajra-tantra* it is clearly explained how to produce the gross Bodhicitta through the physical process and how to turn it to the *Vivṛta* form through the yogic process. Pleasure may also be realised through the discharge of the Bodhicitta, but that has unreservedly been condemned by all the Buddhist Tāntrikas; and it has been said that instead of delivering a man it binds him to the realm of gross sense-pleasure. It is, therefore, that we find in all the texts repeated warnings not to discharge the Bodhicitta; if it be discharged, the *Mahāsukha* is never realised and if the *Mahāsukha* be not realised, the ultimate *Sahaja*-nature can never be realised, and if the ultimate nature be not realised, a man is not liberated from the world of illusion.—MS. pp. 48(A)—49(A).

to rise through the middle nerve and no perfection is attained.¹

How then to check the downward flow of the Bodhicitta? For this purpose Haṭha-yoga is resorted to. In the commentary of the *Marma-kalikā-tantra*, we find that the flow of the Bodhicitta is to be checked by the help of *Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga* or the Yoga with six parts; these are: abstraction (*pratyāhāra*), meditation (*dhyāna*), restraint of the breath (*prāṇāyāma*), attention (*dhāraṇā*), remembrance (*anusmṛti*) and final absorption (*samādhi*).²

In the *Śrī-guhyā-samāja* (Ch. XVIII) we find detailed description of these six parts of Yoga, and these descriptions are again fully commented on in the *Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā* of Nāḍo-

¹ "There is no greater sin than discharge and no greater merit than bliss (arising from the motionless Bodhicitta)." Again, "Discharge is the progenitor of detachment (*virāga*) and from detachment arises sorrow, and from sorrow is the loss of the vital element and from the loss of the element comes death."

na virāgā(t) param pāpam puṇyam na sukhataḥ param |
tathā ca,—cyutir virāga-sambhūtir virāgād duḥkha-sambhavaḥ |
duḥkhād dhātu-kṣayaḥ puṁsām kṣayāt mṛtyuḥ prajāyate ||

—Quoted in the Comm. on the *Marma-kalikā-tantra*, MS. p. 5(A).

Also quoted in the Comm. on the *Dohakośa* of Kāphu-pāda as belonging to the *Ādi-buddha*.—MS. (B.N. Sans. No. 47) p. 49(B).

In the *Sekoddeśa* we find that the Sahaja-form of the Lord is nothing but the motionless state of the fluid.

yātan na(o, sic.) patati prabhāścaramayaḥ śitā-mśu dhārā-dravo
devī-padma-dalo-dare samarasī-bhūto jinānām gaṇaiḥ |
sphuraḍ (sic. sphurijad) vajra-śikhā-grataḥ karuṇayā
bhinnam jagat-kāraṇam
garjjadd hi karuṇā-balaśya sahajam jānīhi rūpam vibhoḥ ||

—Quoted in the Comm. of the *Caryā-pada*, Song No. 3.

Śrī-kāla-cakra definitely declares that salvation is impossible through the discharge—so the Yogins should always shun worldly pleasure.

bīndor mokṣe kea mokṣo gata parama-sukhe yoginām janma-bīje
tasmāt saṁsāra-saukhyam kṣaṇamiha yatibhiḥ sarvadā tarjanīyam ||

—MS. Ch. V. (*jñāna-paṭala*), Verse 125.

² pratyāhāras tathā dhyānam prāṇāyāmo'tha dhāraṇā |
anusmṛtiḥ samādhiś ca ṣaḍaṅgo yoga ucyate ||

—*Śrī-guhyā-samāja-tantra* (G.O.S.), Ch. XVIII, p. 163.

Cf. *Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* (Cowell's Edition, Ch. VI, p. 129) where the six *Āṅgas* are described as *Pratyāhāra*, *Dhyāna*, *Prāṇāyāma*, *Dhāraṇā*, *Tarka* (self-examination) and *Samādhi*.

pada. The first part of Yoga, viz., *pratyāhāra* means the restraint of the ten senses from their respective objects through a process of abstraction. Through *pratyāhāra* the *Sādhaka* develops an aversion to all physical forms and perception, and he further develops an insight whereby he can view all objects of the world from the *Śūnyatā* perspective. The second part, viz., *dhyāna* means viewing the *pañcākāmas* (five objects of desire) as of the nature of the five Buddhas. The five objects of desire stand here for all the objects of the world (*sarve bhāvāḥ sthira-calā-tmakāḥ*) and the five Buddhas stand for Buddha in general. *Dhyāna* here then means meditating on all existence as of the nature of Buddha in the ultimate essence. This *dhyāna* is again of five kinds, viz., *vitarka*, *vicāra*, *prīti*, *sukha* and *ekāgratā*. *Vitarka* means *guhya-trayo-daya*, i.e., the sudden flash in the *citta* of a general ideal reflection (*caitya-sthūlā-kāreṇa*) of the three elements of three times. *Vicāra* means meditating on the specific nature of objects as of the nature of perfect enlightenment. *Prīti* means an agreeable state of mind resulting from the taking in of the objects; *sukha* means the delight resulting from such meditation; *ekāgratā* means the fixing of the mind in the *Śūnyatā*, i.e., the one-pointed state of mind which remains steady in the realisation of the *Śūnyatā*-nature of all objects. ...

The third part of Yoga is *prāṇāyāma*, which means the control and arrest of the vital wind (*prāṇa-vāyu*). This *prāṇa-vāyu* is of the nature of the five elements (*pañca-bhūta*) as well as the five Buddhas. The wind that flows through the left nostril (which is *lalanā*) represents the principle of the five *skandhas* (which are identified with the *pañca-bhūtas*) and the wind flowing through the right nostril (which is *rasanā*) represents the principal of the five Buddhas. These two courses of the vital wind must be united and made into a subtle body, as it were, and made to flow through the middle nerve passing through the lotuses in the navel, heart, neck and the forehead. Then this vital wind must be made steady in the lotus between the two eye-brows. This is what is meant by *prāṇāyāma*.

This process of *prāṇāyāma* is regarded as very important in the esoteric Yoga of the Buddhists and is variously described in different texts. We have seen before that in the *Pañca-krama* the vital wind has been described as the vehicle (*vāhana*) for our defiled nature (*prakṛti*) and this *vāyu* is described as the root of all the principles of defilement and as such the root-cause of the *saṃsāra* or the cycle of birth and death. In the *Vajra-jāpa-krama* of the *Pañca-krama* we find that *mantra-tattva* is nothing but the *vāyu-tattva* (the science of the vital wind). This *vāyu-tattva* comprises within it the five *tattvas* (which when combined together constitutes the ultimate truth); these are the *tattvas* of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas and, therefore, of the five *skandhas*. It is said in the text *Vajra-mālā* that from the air of the right nostril issues forth a lustre of red colour; it is the circle of fire and *Padma-nātha* is the presiding deity here; from the left issues forth the lustre of deep green colour in an aerial circle and *Karma-nātha* is the deity here; the lustre issuing forth from both the nostrils is of yellow colour and it is said to be the circle of Indra and presided over by *Ratna-nātha*. The steady wind within, of the colour of the white *Kunda* flower, or the moon, is the circle of *Varuṇa*, presided over by *Vajra-nātha*, and the wind pervading the whole physical system and prompting all the active tendencies is of the nature of *Vairocana*.¹ These five kinds of lustre of the nature of the five Buddhas are to be thought of in the region between the two brows, i.e., at the starting point of the nose (*nāsāgra*) and they are to be thought of united into

¹ *dakṣiṇād vinirgato rāsmir hutabhuṅ-maṇḍalaṁ ca tat |*
 rakta-varṇam idaṁ vyaktaṁ padma nātho'tra devatā ||
 vāmād vinirgato rāsmir vāyu-maṇḍala-samjñitah |
 harit-śyāma-saṅkāśah karma-nātho'tra devatā ||
 deśābhyām vinirgato rāsmih pīta-varṇo mahādyutiḥ |
 mahendra-maṇḍalaṁ caitad ratna-(nā)tho'tra devatā ||
 stabdho manda-pracaras tu śīta-kunde-ndu-sannibhaḥ |
 maṇḍalaṁ varuṇam caitad vajra-nātho'tra devatā ||
 sarva-dehā-nugo vāyuh sarva-ceṣṭā-pravartakah |
 vairocana-svabhāvo'sau mṛtakāyād viniścaret ||

—Quoted in the *Pañca-krama*, MS. p. 16(B).

the form of a mustard seed (*sarṣapa*); in this mustard seed, however, the whole universe of the static and the dynamic should be meditated on,—it is also to be thought of as the place of all wisdom—of all the mysteries of knowledge.¹ This mustard seed, however, represents the Lord himself of the nature of the five wisdoms.² This small figure of the form of the mustard seed representing the five kinds of winds of the nature of the five elements and the five kinds of wisdom, is meditated on in the region of *nāsāgra* and is itself called *prāṇāyāma*.³ In many places of the *Śrī-Samāja* we find mention of this theory of the five kinds of winds of the nature of the five elements and the five *jñānas*, which are to be meditated on in the region between the brows in the form of the mustard seed.⁴ It may be noted in this connection that in the Hindu texts also we find five kinds of vital wind, viz., *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *samāna*, *vyāna* and *udāna* and in the *Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad* we find that before the world of the animate was created Prajāpati (the creator of all beings) looked on his creation and found all around that his objects of creation were stones, mindless, lifeless, stark as stocks; he then reflected,—“ I will enter within ”, but as one, he could not animate them and, therefore, divided himself in five and hence he is named by five names, viz., *prāṇa*, *apāna*,

¹ *nāsā-gre sarṣapaṁ cintet sarṣape sa-carā-caram |*
bhāvayet jñāna-padaṁ ramyaṁ rahasyaṁ jñāna-kalpitaṁ |
pañca-varṇaṁ mahā-ratnaṁ sarṣapa-sthūla-mātrakaṁ |
nāsikā-gre prayatnena bhāvayed yogataḥ sadā ||

—*Ibid.*, MS. p. 16(A).

² *pañca-jñānamayaṁ tattvaṁ sarṣapa-sthūla-mātrakaṁ |*
tasya madhye sthito devo hy avyakto vyakta-rūpavān ||
Caturdevī pariprechā-vyākhyā-tantra.

—quoted in the *Pañca-krama*, MS. p. 16(A).

³ *pañca-jñānamayaṁ śvāsaṁ pañca-bhūta-svabhāvakam |*
nīścarya padma-nāsā-gre piṇḍa-rūpeṇa kalpayet ||
pañca-varṇaṁ mahā-ratnaṁ prāṇāyāmam iti smṛtam |
sva-mantraṁ hṛdaye dhyātvā cittaṁ bindu-gataṁ nyāset ||

—*Samāja-ttara*, quoted in the *Pañca-krama*, MS. p. 16(A).

⁴ *Śrī-guhyā-samāja*, (G.O.S.) pp. 15, 25.

samāna, *vyāna* and *udāna*.¹ We also find in this connection that the five senses are but the five lustres from within.²

The *japa* of the Mantras, according to the *Pañca-krama*, does not mean the mere chanting or the muttering of the Mantra; it is, as it is with the school of Mantra-yoga, a yogic process for controlling the vital wind with the help of the Mantras. In Mantra-yoga some Mantras (as for example 'om' containing within it the parts 'a', 'u' and 'm') are divided conveniently into three parts, and these three parts are associated with the three parts of the process of *prāṇāyāma*, viz., *Pūraka*, *Kumbhaka* and *Recaka*. Thus here in the *Pañca-krama* the *japa-mantra* is *om āḥ huṁ* and to mutter them in the yogic process according to their meaning is called *vajra-jāpa*.³ What is then the meaning of this Mantra *om āḥ huṁ*? It is said, the 'om' creates all beings, 'āḥ' preserves them and 'huṁ' destroys them; in Yoga, therefore, 'om' will mean the inhalation, 'āḥ' the suspension and 'huṁ' the exhalation.⁴ Thus the *vajra-jāpa* seems to be nothing but *prāṇāyāma* associated with the Mantra for the control of the vital wind and the *Pañca-krama-ṭippanī* makes it very clear that the *vajra-jāpa* is nothing but the process for controlling the vital wind; to control the vital wind is to control the mind, and to control the mind and to destroy it is to realise the essencelessness of the *dharmas*.⁵ In the commentary of the *Caryā-padas* we find occasional mention of this *vajra-jāpa* and it seems from the references that *vajra-jāpa* was regarded as indispensable for the Yoga for the attainment of the *Anuttara-samādhi* or the ultimate state of

¹ Ch. II, Ed. by E. B. Cowell, pp. 26-28.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

³ *Om āḥ huṁ arthā-nugama-jāpena niḥsvabhāvena cāruṇā |
vicāraṇāt pañca-buddhebhyaḥ vajra jāpaḥ sa ucyate ||*

—*Pañca-krama*, MS. p. 17(A).

⁴ *Om-kāraḥ saṁśrjet sattvān buddha-rūpā-gra-kalpitaṁ |
huṁ-kāraḥ saṁharet sattvān āḥ-kāraḥ sthāpako bhavet ||
praveśaś ca sthitiś caiva vyutthānaś ca kramaṇa ca |
japet mantram abhinna-āgaṁ prajñā-pāya-pade sthitaḥ ||*

Ibid., MS. p. 18(A).

⁵ MS. (B.N. Sans. Nos. 65, 66) p. 38(A).

extinction or rather absorption in the *Mahāsukha*. Some other well-known Mantras of Buddhism were also thus given some kind of yogic interpretation. Of these an important Mantra is, *om maṇipadme hum*. *Padma* is well known from the Upaniṣadic period as the symbol of the generative energy and as such it often means female or the female organ; *maṇi* or diamond suggests its analogy with the masculine element,—and thus the Mantra *om maṇipadme hum* may be interpreted as symbolising the sexo-yogic practice of Tāntric Buddhism.¹

In a song of Bhusuka-pāda this vital wind, compared to a mouse, has itself been spoken of as *citta* and it has emphatically been declared that this mouse is the cause of all our existence,—the duty of the Yogin is to kill this mouse with instructions from the preceptor.² In another song of Kāṇhu-pāda we find it put in an enigmatic metaphor, “Kāṇhu has killed the mother-in-law and the sisters-in-law of the house and killing the mother also has become the Kāpālī”.³ The mother-in-law (*śāsu*) here represents the vital wind of the nature of the mind and the sister-in-law (*nananda*) represents the wind that is responsible for the sense-perceptions of sight, etc. (*cakṣur-indriy-ādi-vijñāna-vātam*, Comm.) and the mother (*māa*) represents the world illusion (*māyā*), and in the *Pañca-krama* the vital wind has been spoken of as the *māyā* which is responsible for the world-illusion.⁴

In the *Dohākoṣas* we find frequent references to this arrest of the vital wind and of the control of the mind therewith. Thus it is said, “He who holds fast his vital wind and does not allow the mind to move a bit, casts away the fire of time very easily. Saraha says,—rub the two nerves, the sun and the moon, into one.”⁵ Again it is said,—“Leave

¹ See J.R.A.S., 1906. See also Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 555.

² Song No. 21.

³ Song No. 11.

⁴ *Pañca-krama*, *Seādhigthāna-krama*, p. 27(A).

⁵ Collection of *Dohās* of Saraha (Dr. P. C. Bagehi's Edition).

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off this horse of the mind and the vital wind; he who does it is firmly established in the *Sahaja*-nature." ¹ "With the instruction of the preceptor arrest the vital wind through the constant arrest of mind. When this vital wind is made steady what can time or death do of the Yogin?" ² Kāṇhu-pāda also says in a Dohā, "If the door for the going in of the vital wind be firmly locked up and if in the abyss of darkness the Bodhi-mind be kept as the light, then the jewel of Jina touches the void above and attains *nirvāṇa* through the enjoyment of life in the world." ³

The fifth part of the Yoga is *dhāraṇā*; in this stage all the functions of the senses are stopped and the jewel of vital wind is held fast in the lotus between the eye-brows. This *dhāraṇā* leads to the realisation of five omens or signs. The first sign is like a mirage, the second is like smoke, the third is like the fire-fly, the fourth like a bright light and the fifth is effulgent like the cloudless sky.⁴

The next part of Yoga, *anusmṛti*, is the remembrance of the realisation of the previous stages. The next part, *Samādhi*, is described as the accumulation of and the meditation on all the existence in the form of a circular mass (*bimba*) produced through *Prajñā* and *Upāya* and the quick attainment of knowledge through that meditation. Through *pratyāhāra* the Yogin is established in all the Mantras, through *dhyāna* he attains the fivefold transcendental or supernatural knowledge or faculty (*pañcā-bhijñatva*)⁵; through *prāṇāyāma* is attained Bodhisattvahood, through the strength of *dhāraṇā* Vajrasattvahood; and through

¹ *Dohākoṣa* of Saraha, *Dohā* No. 45.

² *Ibid.*, No. 66.

³ *Dohākoṣa* of Kāṇhu-pāda, *Dohā*, No. 22.

⁴ For a detailed study of these signs see *Obscure Religious Cults* of the present writer.

⁵ The five *Abhijñās* are:—(i) *Iddhi-vidhā* or *Iddhi-ppabheda* (the different magical powers), (ii) *Dibba-sotañ* (divine ear), (iii) *Parasra Cetopariyāñānañ*, or *Paracitta-vijāñānañ* (knowledge of the thoughts of others), (iv) *Pubbenivāsā-nussatiñāñānañ* (knowledge of the former existences), (v) *Dibba-cakkhu* (the divine eye). A sixth is also often added, *viz.*, *Āsava-kkhaya-kara-ñānañ* (the knowledge which causes the destruction of human passions).

anusmṛti the *Sādhaka* enters the circle of effulgence (*prabhā-maṇḍala*) and through *samādhi* he becomes free from all the veils (*āvaraṇa*).

The flow of Bodhicitta is to be arrested through some process of Haṭha-yoga called *mudrā*, *bandha* and *āsana* and *prāṇāyāma* (the process of breath-control); and it is held that through the proper practice of these processes the flow of Bodhicitta can be controlled by the Yogin under all circumstances.¹

¹ In these *mudrās* and *bandhas* the main thing seems to be the acquisition of the capacity for the contraction and expansion of some of the muscles and nerves associated with the root of the penis as well as the anus and with this control of the muscles and the nerves is often associated the question of breath-control. Among these *mudrās* the most important seem to be the *Vajroli*, *Sahajoli* and *Amoroli* described in details in the *Haṭhayoga-pradīpikā*. Among the other *mudrās* the *Khecari-mudrā*, the *Mahā-mudrā*, the *Aśvinī-mudrā*, the *Vajroṇi-mudrā* (*Gheraṇḍa-saṃhitā*, 3/45-47), the *Yoni-mudrā*, etc., are very important. In the description of these *mudrās* and *bandhas* we find it repeatedly declared that if these *mudrās* are rightly practised, the flow of semen can be checked at any stage under any condition. The *bandhas* are also the contraction and tying up, as it were, of many of the muscles and nerves. Among them the *Uḍḍiyāna-bandha*, the *Jalandhara-bandha*, the *Mūla-bandha*, the *Mahā-bandha*, the *Mahā-vedha*, etc., are described to be very effective for the purpose.

But in this yogic practice of the arrest of the downward flow of semen and of giving it an upward flow to make it reach the *Uḥṇiga-kamala* and make it motionless there the control of the different kinds of the vital wind is absolutely necessary. There is a very close relation between the motion of semen, the vital wind and the *citta* and the relation is so intimate that the arrest of any one of them will stop the course of the other two. It has been said that the *bindu* will attain exactly the same state as the vital wind, and both of them move and stop in perfect correspondence (*Amṛta-siddhi*). So, for the purpose of arresting the flow of the Bodhicitta the vital wind must also be checked. For all these purposes the two nerves in the right and the left require to be purified. For this purification of the *Nāḍis* the yogin should first take in the vital breath (*prāṇa*) through the moon (i.e., the *Idā* or the nerve in the left) and after the suspension of the breath within for some time (i.e., after *Kumbhaka*) should exhale the breath through the sun (i.e., *Pīṅgalā* or the nerve in the right); then again he should inhale the breath through the sun and after *Kumbhaka* exhale it through the moon; the nerves are sure to be purified through this process. After this the yogin should practise to suspend the vital breath within and instead of regulating it either in the left or in the right nerve should try to regulate it along the middle nerve. In the *Heruka-tantra* we find the same process described for the purification of the nerves as well as for the attainment of full control over breath (5th *paṭala*). The most important of the processes for the arrest of the flow of Bodhicitta is the *Kumbhaka* or the suspension of the vital wind, both *Prāṇa* and *Apāna*. *Prāṇa* is the wind that

Now after the Bodhicitta is produced and its downward flow arrested, the Bodhicitta must march upward to reach the final stage in the *Uṣṇīṣa-kamala*. With this raising of the Bodhicitta from the navel to the lotus in the cerebrum through the different *Cakras* we may compare the Mahāyāna conception of the march of the Bodhicitta through the ten stages after its production. Again we find in the Hindu Tantras that the world-force (*kula-kuṇḍalinī śakti*), residing in the lowest *Cakra*, coiled like a serpent, is to be raised from its latency and taken to the *Sahasrāra* through the various *Cakras* with the help of yogic processes. In the Tāntric Buddhist school also there is the question of raising

moves upward, and *Apāna* is the wind that moves downward, and generally the disturbed semen within the body is discharged through the downward motion of *Apāna*; but if this *Apāna* is arrested, the Bodhicitta cannot go downward, and if *Prāṇa* is arrested, it cannot go upward, and, therefore when both are arrested or made passive, it can neither go upward nor go downward, but becomes motionless like the motionless air within.

*Cf. oha ṇa gamai ūha na jāi |
beni-rahia tasu niccala thāi ||
bhaṇai-kāṇha maṇa kahari ṇa phuttai |
niccala parāṇa gharinī ghare vaṭṭai ||*

—*Dohakoṣa* of Kāṇhu-pāda, *Dohā* No. 13.

*Cf. Also the Comm. :—adha na gacchaty apāṇa-vāyor nirodhāt,
ūrdhvaṃ na gacchatī prāṇa-vāyor nirodhāt | dvābhyām
ūrdhva-dhaḥ prāṇa-pānābhyām rahitaṃ parityaktaṃ
tasya tathā-rūpeṇa bodhicittaṃ nirasya tiṣṭati'ti ||*

In the commentary of the *Marma-kalikā-tantra* we find that the flow of the Bodhicitta must be checked by *Aṅga-nyāsa* and *Kara-nyāsa*. The *aṅga* is explained as the *Apāna* wind (MS. p. 23A) and the *kara* is explained as the *Prāṇa* wind (*kaṃ mahāsukha-cakra-ratī gṛhṇātī'ti karaḥ prāṇa-vāyuh*, p. 24A) and thus *Aṅga-nyāsa* and *Kara-nyāsa* mean the regulation of the *Prāṇa* and the *Apāna* winds. In a song of *Kukkuri-pāda* we find.—“The milk of the two teats cannot be (i.e., is very difficult to be) held in the milk-pot; the tamarind of the tree is eaten up by the crocodile” (Song No. 2). The implication seems to be that the novice yogins cannot arrest the flow of Bodhicitta in the navel region by a full control over the two nerves (which are compared to the teats of the cow, and the *Maṇipura* in the navel being compared to the milk-pot). But expert yogins control Bodhicitta (which is compared to the tamarind, the body being the tree) with the help of the suspension of the vital breath or *Kumbhaka* (which is said to be the *Kumbhīra*). Again it is said, “The mother-in-law has fallen asleep and the daughter-in-law awakes” (Song No. 2). Here also the mother-in-law (*sasurā*) represents the vital wind *śvāsa* and when she is asleep, i.e., when the vital wind is completely suspended, the daughter-in-law (*vahudī*) representing the *Aradhūtikā*, awakes.

the Śakti in connection with raising the Bodhicitta. It is said that when the Bodhicitta is produced in the navel region the goddess Caṇḍālī is also awakened, as it were, in the *Nirmāṇa-cakra*. When she is awakened the moon situated in the forehead begins to pour nectar and this nectar rejuvenates and transubstantiates the body of the Yogin. This goddess Caṇḍālī, variously known as *Ḍombī*, *Yoginī*, *Sahaja-sundarī*, *Nairātmā* (or *Nairāmaṇī*) is variously described in various Tantras, Dohās and songs. In the process of rising from the lowest *Cakra* to the highest she transforms herself variously, causing new realisations to the *Sādhaka*. From all that is said about her nature it seems that she is of the nature of a strong internal perception—something like a force of the nature of intense bliss produced through the esoteric yogic practice. As the nature of this Śakti, as conceived in the Buddhist Tantras, Dohās and songs, has been studied in detail by the present writer in another work,¹ he does not propose to repeat the point here.

Another important point, noticeable in this connection, is the regulation of the Bodhicitta through the middle path. We have seen that the philosophical schools within Mahāyāna were, or at least professed to be, all followers of the middle path inasmuch as all of them declared that the final state is neither a state of *bhava* nor a state of *nirvāṇa*,—but it transcends or synthesises both. This Mahāyānic principle has been adopted by the Tāntric Buddhists in their practical Yoga in regulating the Bodhicitta through the middle path (*i.e.*, the middle nerve *Avadhūtikā*) avoiding the two extremes which are represented by the two nerves in the right and the left. This principle of adopting the middle path in the *Sāadhanā* has variously (and often very poetically) been explained in the Tantras, Dohās and songs; but as this point has also been dealt elaborately elsewhere,² it need not be repeated here.

¹ *Obscure Religious Cults*, Chapter IV.

² *Op. cit.*

(iv) *The Four Mudrās, Four Moments And The Four Kinds of Bliss*

In this production of the Bodhicitta four stages, associated with the four *Cakras* or lotuses, are distinctly marked, and on the basis of these four stages we find mention of four *Mudrās*, four moments (*kṣaṇa*) and four kinds of bliss. The four *Mudrās* are: *Karma-mudrā*, *Dharma-mudrā*, *Mahā-mudrā* and *Samaya-mudrā*; the four moments are: *Vicitra*, *Vipāka*, *Vimarda* and *Vilakṣaṇa*; and the four kinds of bliss are: *Ānanda*, *Paramā-nanda*, *Viramā-nanda* and *Sahajā-nanda*. The *Mudrās* here are practically the different stages of the *Sādhana*. In the small text entitled *Catur-mudrā* we find that these four stages in the *Sādhana* and the resulting realisations are metaphorically described as the four *Mudrās* (or great women) of the *Sādhaka*. Here *Karma-mudrā* is explained as the physical yogic process of the *Sādhana* (including the production of the Bodhicitta, arrest of the flow of Bodhicitta, giving it the upward motion, etc.); the realisation here is of sensual pleasure (*ānanda*) and, therefore, it only resembles the *Sahaja*-bliss very faintly. The knowledge produced here is also not the pure knowledge, it only resembles perfect knowledge very faintly by analogy. Tillo-pāda says in a *Dohā* that the *Karma-mudrā* should never be depreciated, for this is the yogic practice for the realisation of the four moments and pleasure.¹ *Dharma-mudrā* is said to be of the nature of the *dharma-dhātu* (i.e., the ultimate element of the *dharma*s), non-phenomenal (*niṣprapañca*), free from thought-constructions (*nirvikalpa*), natural (*a-kṛtrima*) uncreate, of the nature of compassion and it produces *Paramā-nanda* (great bliss). It seems that when the Bodhicitta is made to flow upwards through the middle nerve *Avadhūtī*, a knowledge, associated with a realisation of bliss, of the ultimate element underlying all the elements of earth, water, fire, air, and ether is obtained and the *Sādhana* of this stage is called the

¹ *Dohā* No. 25,

Dharma-mudrā.¹ When the Bodhicitta moves still more upwards, a transcendental knowledge and realisation is produced and it is called the *Mahā-mudrā*. It is described as essenceless, free from the veils of subjectivity (*jñeyā-varaṇa*) and of the passions (*kleśā-varaṇa*); it is like the clear mid-day sky of the autumn, the origin of all wealth, the unity of *bhava* and *nirvāṇa*, a supportless body of compassion,—the embodiment of *Mahāsukha*. The *Samaya-mudrā* (the *Mudrā* of knowledge) is the *Mudrā* per excellence—it is perfect bliss, perfect knowledge. We have seen that in the *Samputikā* as well as in the *Hevajra-pañjikā Karma-mudrā* has been placed in the *Nirmāṇa-cakra*, *Dharma-mudrā* in the *Dharma-cakra*, *Mahā-mudrā* in the *Sambhoga-cakra* and *Samaya-mudrā* in the *Mahāsukha-cakra*.² From this it appears that *Karma-mudrā* represents the totality of the process and the resulting bliss and knowledge when the Bodhicitta remains in the *Nirmāṇa-cakra*, *Dharma-mudrā* is similarly the process, resulting bliss and knowledge when the Bodhicitta is raised to the *Dharma-cakra*, *Mahā-mudrā* similarly refers to the Bodhicitta in the *Sambhoga-cakra* and *Samaya-mudrā* to the Bodhicitta in the *Mahāsukha-cakra*.³

Let us now discuss the nature of the four kinds of bliss, viz., (1) *Ānanda*, (2) *Paramā-nanda*, (3) *Viramā-nanda* and (4) *Sahajā-nanda*. *Ānanda* is the bliss when the Bodhicitta is in the *Nirmāṇa-kāya*, *Paramā-nanda* in the *Dharma-cakra*, *Viramā-nanda* in the *Sambhoga-cakra* and *Sahajā-nanda* in the *Mahāsukha-kāya*. About the nature of these four kinds of bliss the *Hevajra-tantra* says that *Ānanda* means ordinary transient pleasure, *Paramā-nanda* is more intense, *Viramā-nanda* means the detachment from the worldly pleasure and *Sahajā-nanda* is the final bliss. The first involves an element of tactual perception, the second is a step towards pure bliss, the third is for the destruction of all attachment and the fourth is the final. Again *Paramā-nanda* is called *bhava*

¹ Vide *Adicaya-vajra-saṃgraha* (G.O.S.), pp. 33-34.

² Vide *Samputikā*, MS. (R.A.S.B., No. 4854) p. 10(A);

Hevajra-pañjikā, MS. p. 2(B).

³ Cf. also *Sehoddasa-tika* (G.O.S.), p. 62 et seq.

or existence in the world of birth and death, and as *Viramā-nanda* is said to be of the nature of detachment, it represents *nirvāṇa*; and *Sahajā-nanda* is neither *bhava* nor *nirvāṇa*, it transcends both.¹ Again it is said that *Ānanda* is like a resemblance of the world, *i.e.*, here the *Sādhaka* gets only a glimpse of the world; *Paramā-nanda* is the provisional world, *Viramā-nanda* represents the world, but *Sahaja* remains in neither of these three.²

In the *Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā* we find that *Ānanda* is the pleasure of passion which disturbs the mind; *Paramā-nanda* is the realisation of full bliss when the Bodhicitta reaches the forehead; the next stage is the stage of *Viramā-nanda* when nectar oozes from the moon in the forehead. Even in this stage of *Viramā-nanda* the *Sādhaka* retains his consciousness of the ego-hood, *i.e.*, the realisation of the bliss in this stage is associated with some sort of self-consciousness; but this self-consciousness is totally lost in the state of *Sahajā-nanda* where the knower and the knowable are lost in the oneness of perfect bliss. Of the sixteen digits of the moon the first five represent *Ānanda*, up to the tenth is *Paramā-nanda*, up to the fifteenth is *Viramā-nanda* and the sixteenth represents *Sahajā-nanda*. Again, corresponding to the four stages, *viz.*, the state of wakefulness (*jāgrat*), dream (*svapna*), deep sleep (*suṣupta*) and the fourth or the final state (*turīya*), we have the four elements, *viz.*, body (*kāya*),

¹ ānandena sukhoṃ kiñcit paramā-nandaṃ tato'dhikam |
viramā-nando virāgaḥ syāt saajā nandaṃ tu leṣataḥ ||
prathamam sparśa-krāntaṃ deitīyaṃ sukha-vāñchayā |
tṛtīyaṃ rāga-nāśateṣu caturthaṃ tena bhāvyate ||
paramā-nandaḥ bhavaṃ proktaṃ nirvāṇaṃ ca virāgataḥ |
madhyamā-nanda-mātraṃ tu saajāṃ ebhīr vicarjitaṃ ||
—Hevajra-tantra.

Cf. also *Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā* (G.O.S.), pp. 54-55.

² prathamā-nanda-mātraṃ tu paramā-nandaṃ deśamkhyataḥ |
tṛtīyaṃ viramā-khyāṃ ca caturthaṃ saajāṃ smṛtaṃ ||
prathamā-nandaṃ jagad-rūpaṃ paramā-nandaṃ jagat tathā |
viramā-nandaṃ jagat caiva na vidyeta saajāṃ triṣu ||
—Ibid., p. 27(B).

Cf. also the commentary.

speech (*vāk*), mind (*citta*) and knowledge (*jñāna*); we have four kinds of bliss in each of these states and thus the actual number of the kinds of bliss becomes sixteen in all.¹

Closely associated with these four kinds of *Ānanda* is the theory of the four moments or four distinct stages in the realisation of the *Sahaja*. These are, as we have seen, *Vicitra*, *Vipāka*, *Vimarda* and *Vilakṣaṇa*. *Vicitra* is the moment when the realisation of pleasure is attended with various kinds of emotions resulting from physical union. *Vipāka* is the moment when the bliss is matured to knowledge; *Vimarda* is a higher moment when the realisation of the bliss is attended with the consciousness of the ego as the realiser of the bliss; *Vilakṣaṇa* is the moment when the realisation transcends all these three and the realisation of the bliss is free from any emotion of attachment or detachment. In the *Vicitra* moment there is the realisation of *Ānanda*, in the *Vipāka* *Paramā-nanda*, in the *Vimarda* *Viramā-nanda* and in the *Vilakṣaṇa* *Sahajā-nanda*.²

This theory of moments and the four kinds of bliss is very important from the standpoint of Yoga; for the lay Yogin who will not be able to distinguish between the one moment from the other and one kind of bliss from the other, may take even gross sensuality to be *Sahaja*-bliss or *Mahā-sukha*; but that is practically adopting the path to hell. It is for this reason that the four moments and the four kinds of bliss must be very clearly distinguished. The *Hevajra-tantra* says that a perfect knowledge of the bliss follows only

¹ G.O.S., pp. 26-27.

² *vicitraṃ ca vipākaṃ ca vimardaṃ vilakṣaṇas tathā |*
catuḥ kṣaṇaṃ samāgamyā evaṃ jñānti yoginaḥ ||
vicitraṃ vividhaṃ khyātam ālīṅgana-cumbanā-dikam |
vipākaṃ tad-viparyāsam sukha-jñānasya bhūñjanam ||
vimardam ālocanaṃ proktaṃ sukhaṃ bhuktaṃ mayeti ca |
vilakṣaṇaṃ tribhyo'nyatra rāgā-rāga-vicārjitaṃ ||
vicitre prathamā-nandaḥ paramā-nando vipākake (?) |
viramā-nando vimardaḥ ca sahajā-nando vilakṣaṇe ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS. p. 39(A).

But cf. *Seka-nirṇaya* of *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha* (G.O.S.), p. 28.

from a perfect knowledge of the moments.¹ Tillo-pāda says in one of his Dohās, 'He who knows the distinction of the different moments and the different kinds of bliss becomes a real Yogin in this very life'.²

To understand the esoteric Yoga of the Tāntric Buddhists let us now sum up the whole discussion. We said in the beginning of this chapter that *Mahāsukha* or great bliss is the Absolute of the Tāntrikas. This *Mahāsukha* in its state of Absolute is motionless and changeless; it materialises itself in the gradual process of change. The lowest *Cakra* of the body (whether the *Nirmāṇa-cakra* of the Buddhists or the *Mūlādhāra-cakra* of the Hindus) is the material plane and *Mahāsukha* remains here in its grossly physical form—it is the sex-pleasure; and in this plane Bodhicitta is the physical *bindu* (seed); through further downward motion the *bindu* becomes transformed into the physical body. But as the *bindu* marches up from the physical plane to higher and higher planes it casts off its physical nature and approximates its original nature as the motionless and changeless; this motionless and changeless *Mahāsukha* in the highest plexus is the Absolute in which the self and the not-self merge. The *bindu* in the *Nirmāṇa-cakra* is composed of earth, water, fire, air and ether; but when the *bindu* in its upward march leaves the *Nirmāṇa-cakra*, the element of earth merges itself in water, and in this way, with further march of the Bodhicitta, the element of water merges itself in fire, fire in air and air in *citta*, and thus in the highest plane, i.e., *Uṣṇīṣa-kamala* it becomes pure effulgence. When this *bindu* as pure effulgence becomes perfectly motionless in the highest plexus the *Sādhaka* attains a transubstantiated divine body with divine (immaterial) eyes and ears; he thus becomes omniscient and all-pervading and thus becomes the Buddha Himself.³

¹ *ānandās tatra jāyante kṣaṇa-bhedaṇa bheditaḥ |*
kṣaṇa-jñānāt sukha-jñānam evaṁkāre pratīṣṭhitam ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS. p. 39(A).

² *khana ānanda-bheṇ jo jānai |*
so iha jammahi joi bhañijjai || (No. 28).

³ *Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā* (G.O.S.), p. 7, also, p. 45.

CHAPTER VI

THE ARGUMENT OF THE TĀNTRIC BUDDHISTS IN DEFENCE OF THEIR YOGA

In the previous chapters we have tried to give an exposition of the theories and practices of the Tāntric Buddhists. The *rationale* of the sexo-yogic practice of the Tāntric Buddhists is to be found in what has been described and discussed above. We do not think that any further argument is necessary in defence. But it seems that, because of the unconventional nature of their practices, these Tāntric Buddhists were sometimes over-conscious about the justifiability of their practices and advanced various arguments in defence of these practices. It will, therefore, not be without interest to state and examine the main arguments of these Tāntrikas as we find them in the various Tantras. These arguments, as is the case with their other arguments, are not found in the texts in a systematised form, they are rather to be culled from the texts. But two works are found mainly, though not entirely, devoted to offering something like a philosophical explanation of these practices; the first is the *Citta-viśuddhi-prakaraṇa* of Āryadeva and the second is the *Tattva-siddhi* of Śānta-rakṣita.¹

The main argument, to start with, is that to pass any ethical judgment on the nature of an action, it should always be remembered that an action, of whatsoever nature may it be, is by itself neither moral nor immoral; in its non-relational absolute nature it is purely colourless, and hence in itself it has got no value, that being always relative. Thus the moral, immoral and non-moral nature of an action is to be determined by the effect it produces in relation to the general scheme of life. To be strictly ethical, it is not even the effect that determines the nature of an action,—it is

¹ MS. (C.L.B.), No. 13124.

rather the motive behind that speaks either for or against it. The main emphasis of the Tāntric Buddhists seems to be on this vital point of ethics. If it be the motive behind the action, and not the action itself, that determines the nature of an action, any and every action in the form of some religious practice is to be justified, provided, the motive behind is nothing but the attainment of some religious fulfilment. The ultimate goal of the Tāntric Buddhists is the realisation of *Mahāsukha* in the form of perfect enlightenment, which tantamounts to the realisation of the *Vajra*-nature or the *Sahaja*-nature of the self and of the *dharma*s. With a view to attaining this final goal they adopted a particular sex-yogic practice. If we are to judge this practice by the motive which impels them to have recourse to it—and not by the commonly accepted nature and value of the action—we shall have nothing to say against it. If the motive or rather the perspective be not pure, they will be like fools building their house on the sands and great will be their fall in the dark abyss of the cycle of birth and death. This path of Yoga with sex-relation has frequently been spoken of as a very easy path for the attainment of success, as it is the most *natural path*, being in consonance with our natural human tendencies and involving no unnatural strain of continual repression. At the same time it has also been repeatedly reminded at every step that it is also a very dangerous path of Yoga; for, everything depends on the purity of the *citta*.

In the *Citta-viśuddhi-prakarana* of Āryadeva we find a short ethical discussion on the nature of sin. There it is said that the mind is the real agent of all actions—nay, it is the antecedent factor of the *dharma*s, it is the most important, it is the quickest; it is through the pleasure and displeasure of the mind that our speech and actions follow.¹

¹ *manahpūrvāṅgamā dharmā manahāreṣṭhā manojabāh |*
manasā hi prasannena bhāṣate vā karoti vā || Verse 10.

This verse is nothing but the Sanskritised form of the two opening verses of the Pāli text *Dhamma-pada* which run thus:—

manopubbāṅgamā dhammā manoṣeṭṭhā manomayā |
manasā ce padutṭhena bhāṣatī vā karotī vā |
tato'nam dukkha-manveṭṭī cakkam'va sahato padam ||

It is, therefore, that the *citta* is solely responsible for the ethical nature of an action.¹

Thus the intention behind an action gives an action a moral or immoral colouring, and as this principle has got its sanction in the Scriptures, no pious man can have any objection to it.² Then the author goes on to say that the Yogin, who has made a 'god' of himself by the universalisation of the self, and all of whose activities are prompted by a spirit of benevolence towards the world, attains liberation by the enjoyment of objects, and never is he bound down by any such enjoyment. As a man versed in the science of poison knows poison as poison and then swallows some quantity of it and yet he never falls swooning thereby, on the other hand, becomes cured of diseases, so also is the case with an expert Yogin, who attains liberation through enjoyment.³

A general consideration of the trend of argument of the Tāntric Buddhists will show that their main stress is on the point that no action duly performed with Prajñā and Upāya comes within the scope of our popular code of morality. Prajñā, we have seen, is perfect knowledge of the nature of perfect vacuity about the nature of the self and the *dharma*s; and Upāya is the spirit of universal compassion, and these two taken together constitute the Bodhicitta. Now, it can very easily be shown from the

manopubbaṅgamā dhammā manoseṭṭhā manomayā |
manasā ce pasannena bhāsati vā karoti vā ||
tato'naṃ sukhamanveti chāyā va anapāyinī || Verses 1-2.

¹ The author takes an instance here. An old man was directed by a slumbering monk to go quickly to a place; because of the rapidity of motion the old fellow had a fall and he died; now apparently the sin of causing death to the old man seems to devolve on the slumbering monk; but as the intention of the monk in ordering the old man to hasten to a particular place was very good, he should not be held morally responsible for the death of the old man and thus he commits no sin. The authority of the *Vinaya* is also referred to here which holds that unintentional causing of death is no sin on the part of a man possessing no wicked mind. Verses 11-13.

² *tasmād āśaya-mūlā hi pāpa-punya-vyavasthitih |*
ity uktam āgame yasmān nā'pattiḥ śubha-cetasām ||

—*Ibid.*, Verse 15.

³ *Ibid.*, Verses 17-18.

standpoint of Prajñā or perfect knowledge that there cannot be any provision for morality, and similarly it can also be shown that from the standpoint of Upāya or universal compassion also there cannot be any provision for morality.

We have seen that the Tāntric Buddhists, in unison with the Mahāyānist Buddhists in general, were advocates of an extreme form of idealism. With them the world has no objective basis; everything that appears to exist outside, is nothing but the illusory creation of the subject. It is, indeed, extremely difficult to construct any system of ethics on the ground of this extreme form of idealism. And as a matter of fact the idealistic Buddhists left no scope for morality. It has been declared by Nāgārjuna in unequivocal terms that the value of morality is always provisional, there being no objective basis for it whatsoever. The whole universe of good and bad, right and wrong, being a mere creation of the *citta*, the world of morality has only subjective value and as such is always provisional. This extreme form of subjectivism has often been emphasised by the Tāntric Buddhists in connection with the ethical questions pertaining to their practices. The *citta* or mind being the ultimate ground of all creation, the nature of the *citta* will determine the nature of all appearances in the form of actions; and so, all actions done with a pure mind cannot but be pure even if sex-relation is involved in them. In the *Jñāna-siddhi* of Indra-bhūti we find an interesting discussion on this topic of virtue and vice. It is pointed out that contradictory statements and injunctions are to be met with in the Tāntric texts; some actions are described somewhere as virtuous and vicious in other places. How then to reconcile these contradictory statements? It has been replied that in reality there is nothing virtuous and nothing vicious. Virtue and vice depend on the condition of the *citta*. There are three elements (*dhātu*) which generally combine together for the performance of an action; these are body (*kāya*), speech (*vāk*) and mind (*manas*). Of the three, body has no power to do anything without mind; speech is also never possible without mind; so, it stands that it is the *citta* that is doing

all good and bad through body and speech.¹ How then to define virtue and vice? It is said, whatever is done with a view to doing good to the world is right or virtuous, and whatever is done with any other motive is a sin.² All the right and wrong are created by the *citta* and it is through the *citta* again that they are all destroyed. Charity is one of the universally recognised moral virtues; but the mere action of giving produces no virtue unless it is done with a charitable mind; the virtue of the action of giving depends solely on the attitude of the man.³ It is finally decided here that there is no other criterion of virtue than the benevolent spirit; any action prompted by such a spirit is moral, and any action done with a malicious spirit is immoral.⁴

¹ Ch. IX, Verses 6-7.

² *hitā-rtham yad bhavet karma sarvaṃ sac-caritaṃ bhavet |
viparyayāt apuṇyaṃ tat pravādanti jino-ttamaḥ ||*

—*Ibid.*, Verse 8.

³ *Ibid.*, Verse 15.

⁴ In the tenth chapter of the same work it is said that the conceptions of purity and impurity are mere thought-constructions. There is nothing as purity; for, the very existence of purity will posit its antithesis impurity; and if there be no conception of purity at all, there will not be any conception of impurity also. Both the conceptions are relative and are mere imagination of the common run of people (X, 9-10). In the eleventh chapter of the same work we find that a Yogin is justified to adopt any woman for the purpose of his Yoga, no matter in what relation she stands to him; for, all human relations are without any objective truth behind them; they are mere thought-constructions of the common people. Moreover, in the beginningless whirl of birth and death a mother of one life may become the daughter of the other life, and she again in her turn may become a wife in the next birth; so there being no fundamental difference between a woman as the mother and as the daughter and the wife, any one of them may be adopted for the purpose of Yoga. This ocean of world is full of the water of thought-construction, and the yogic process of the Vajra-yāna is like a raft to take people across to the other shore.

It has been said in the *Ekalla-cira-caṇḍa mahā-roṣaṇa-tantra* that the Yogin of the Vajra-yāna should have no fear either of heaven or of hell; for there is neither any vice nor any virtue; all vice and virtue are spoken of only for the satisfaction of the common people. As everything is by nature nothing but the *citta* and as the existence of everything is but momentary, who is there to go to hell and who to go to heaven?

*na pāpaṃ vidyate kiñcit na puṇyaṃ kiñcid astiha |
lokānāṃ citta-rakṣāya pāpa-puṇya vyavasthitiḥ ||
citta-mātraṃ yataḥ sarvaṃ kṣaṇa-mātraṃ yataḥ sthitiḥ |
narakam gacchati ko'sau ko'sau svargaṃ prayāti hi ||*

MS. (R.A.S.B., No. 9089) p. 14(A).

It has been further argued in some of the texts that the Yogin, before he enters into the auspicious circle with a view to being initiated in the secret cult of Yoga, must possess a trained mind and perfectly purified body (or rather an immortal body) fit to realise the ultimate void-nature or the *Sahaja*-nature of the self and the *dharma*s. When the mind of a Yogin is thus 'placed in the knowledge of the vacuity or the non-dual knowledge', he cannot have any mental complex of morality and immorality or virtue and vice. To such a man all the *dharma*s appear to be of the same non-dual nature.¹ In the *Yuganaddha-krama* of the *Pañca-krama* it has been said that when the Yogin places himself in the state of *Yuganaddha* or unification he should make no distinction between the self and the enemy, the wife and the daughter, the mother and a public woman, a *Ḍombī* and a lady belonging to the caste of the twice-born; to him a piece of cloth and the skin of a beast, jewel and the husk of corn, urine and good drink, cooked food and waste matter, scented camphor and the bad smell of the impure, praises and scorns—all are of equal value. To him there is no distinction between the fierce God (*i.e.*, Śiva) and the wielder of the thunder (*i.e.*, Indra), between day and night, dream and awakening, the past and the present, happiness and sorrow, any wicked man and the son, hell and heaven, virtue and vice.²

¹ It is said in the fifteenth chapter of the *Prajñā-pāya-viniścaya-siddhi* of *Anaṅga-vajra* that in the yogic practices of *Vajra-yāna* there should be no deliberation as to what kind of a *Mudrā* should be adopted and what not; for, through the Yoga, which leads to the realisation of the magical nature of the universe, one can safely enjoy everything. Everything having its existence in the ultimate non-dual substance (*dharma-dhātu*), nothing can be harmful to Yoga; and, therefore, the Yogin should enjoy everything to his heart's content without the least fear or hesitation. Verses 29-30.

² *yathā'ṭmani tathā śatrau yathā bhāryā tathā-tmajā |*
yathā mātā tathā vatyā yathā ḍombī tathā deijā ||
yathā castram tathā carma yathā ratnam tathā tuṣam |
yathā mūtram tathā medyam yathā bhaktam tathā sakṛt ||
yathā sugandhi karpūram tathā gandham amedhyajam |
yathā stutikaram vākyam tathā vākyam jugupsitam ||
yathā rudras tathā vajri yathā rātris tathā divā |
yathā svapnam tathā dṛṣṭam yathā naṣṭam tathā sthitam ||

We find it quoted in the *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha* that whatever easy movements of the limbs are produced through the Bodhicitta, which is pure by nature, are to be recognised as the Mudrās (yogic Mudrās), and all the sound-vibrations are to be recognised as the Mantras. Not only that, in connection with the Sahaja all the varieties of emotions, such as the erotic emotion, heroism, the emotion of scorn, anger, laughter, fear, pity, wonder and quiescence,—the emotions of attachment, hatred, infatuation, pride and jealousy, etc.,—all become pure by nature and all of them reflect the knowledge of vacuity; for, at basis all these are nothing but the forms of the one *citta* produced through the three elements.¹

In the *Hevajra-tantra* the Bodhisattva Vajra-garbha asks the Lord (*bhagavān*) how it may be possible to attain success in Yoga in the company of a woman. In reply the Lord says that in the Prajñā and the Upāya there is neither origination nor destruction; through perfect knowledge of the world the Yogin first of all should realise the illusory and magical nature of the world, and then he will find that all the theses and antitheses vanish in the sky. Yoga presupposes this knowledge about the world and the Yoga performed with this kind of knowledge is always above the range of the ordinary codes of morality.²

yathā saukhyam tathā duḥkham yathā duḥṣṭas tathā suḥṣṭas |
yathā vīcis tathā svargās tathā puṇyam tu pāpakam ||

—*Pañca-krama*, MS. p. 33(A).

¹ *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, p. 47. Again it has been said,—foolish people think of liberation (*mokṣa*) as something entirely different from the enjoyment of the world; but whatever there is sublime and great which is heard, seen, smelt, eaten, known and touched, is good all round; all the women are to be known as the thunder-women (*vajra-nārī*), all men are to be recognised as the lords of the yogic circle, the whole drama of the world is to be known as perfectly pure by nature.

—*Subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, p. 56.

Cf. also,—*yas tu sarvāṇi kriyāṇi prajñayā viniyojayet |*
so'pi dūnya-pada-yogas tapo hy etaṃ mahātmanām ||

—*Sarva-deva-samāgama tantra*, quoted, in the *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, p. 49.

² MS. pp. 35(A)—35(B). In the *Stādhiṣṭhāna-krama* of the *Pañca-krama* we find it prescribed that in Yoga the Yogin first of all should worship himself as the all-pervading perfectly enlightened one; and then the employment of Mantras and Mudrās and the describing of the yogic circle and the performances of offering and sacrifice should all be made as magic; all performances for peace and well-being.

Tillo-pāda says in one of his Dohās, "I am void, the world is void,—all the three worlds are void,—in this pure *Sahaja* there is neither sin nor virtue."¹ The ultimate reality is bereft of both merit and demerit.²

Now, from the standpoint of Upāya or universal compassion we see, that the ordinary standard of morality cannot be applied to a Bodhisattva. For, a Bodhisattva has no right to consider the pros and cons of any action from his own standpoint, that is to say, he has no right to judge an action as right or wrong only because it produces some good or bad effect on him. The life of a Bodhisattva being pledged for the world at large, he may be required to do something which pleases others but may do him harm.³

and the *Ābhicārika* performances (like subduing or attracting others) should all be made as if they are all like the rainbow in the sky, and all enjoyment like that of sex-intercourse, etc., and songs and sounds, etc., should be made as if they are all like the moon reflected in water.

mantra-mudrā-prayogaṇca maṇḍa(lā)di-eikalpanam |
balī-homa-kriyāṃ Sarvāṃ kuryāt māyo-pamāṃ sadā ||
śāntikaṃ pauṣṭikaṃ cā'pi tathā vasyā-bhicārikaṃ |
ākaraṇā-dī yat sarvaṃ kuryāt indrāyudho-pamaṃ ||
śṛṅgārā-dy-upabhogaṇ ca gīta-vādyā-di-sevanam |
kalāsu ca prapṛtiṇ ca kuryād udaka-candra-vat ||

MS, p. 27(B).

¹ *hau suṇṇa jagu suṇṇa tihua[ṇa] suṇṇa |*
[ṇimmala sahoje ṇa papa ṇa puṇṇa]

Dohā No. 34.

² Dohā No. 29.

³ Thus we find in the *Tattva-siddhi*,—if a woman falls passionately in love with a Bodhisattva and if she be about to sacrifice her life for him, it is the bounden duty of the Bodhisattva to save her life by satisfying her. So the Bodhisattva should transgress the law even of the ten kinds of meritorious deed for the sake of others.

co'ktaṃ bhagavatā āla-paṭale/bodhisattvena daśa-kusālāṇy api parā-rthena
khaṇḍayitavyāni/yathā kācit kāmā-rthiṇī kāmīṇī strī bodhisattvaṃ prati prāṇān
tyajet/tasyāḥ kāmādi-samsevanena prāṇa-saṃcāraṃ kāryam/

—*Tattva-siddhi*, MS. (C.L.B.) p. 205.

It is for this reason that it has been repeatedly said in many of the texts that there is nothing in the world, which a Bodhisattva-yogin should not do for the sake of the beings (*Citta-viśuddhi-prakaraṇa*, Verse 33). It has also been repeatedly declared that the only criterion of morality is a sincere will for the good of others. Anything that is harmful to the beings is immoral by nature. Perfect enlightenment has been denied to the orthodox monks belonging to the Hīna-yāna fold, though they strictly observe all the so-called discipline of morality. It is said in the *Guhyendutīlaka* and other Tantras of the same type,—“There is nothing not to be done by a man whose mind is equipped with Prajñā and

The main emphasis of the Vajra-yānists is on the point that all the other religious systems are rather defective inasmuch as they prescribe the most unnatural repression on the mind of a man. Through the practices of the difficult vows, fastings and hard penances a man may inflict torture upon his body and mind, but through such an unnatural process nothing like final tranquillity of the mind can be attained. The principle of the Tāntric Buddhists in introducing the esoteric yogic practice is much akin to the principle of Homœopathy, viz., *Similia similibus curantur*. It has been found on investigation that the element, which causes a disease under particular circumstances, cures the same disease when applied by an expert physician in a different way, i.e., in a very smaller dilution. The Vajra-yānists will also say, that the very action which binds a man down to the world of infinite misery may help him to attain liberation, if taken from a different perspective, i.e., if taken with the knowledge of the Prajñā and the Upāya. This principle of the Vajra-yānists is found explained in many of the texts in the form of a set of analogies, the main purport of which is, what binds the fool, liberates the wise; that which may prove fatal to ordinary people may conduce to

Upāya; he should always enjoy the five objects of desire most unhesitatingly. . . . He, whose Bodhicitta is firm and whose mind is not attached to desires, need not have any doubt or hesitation in this Yoga, his success is guaranteed."

nāsti kiñcit akartavyam prajñā-pāyena cetasā |
nirvidāṅkaḥ sadā bhūtvā bhoktavyam pañca-kāmakam ||

• • • • •
bodhicittam dṛḍham yasya niḥsaṅgā ca matir bhavet |
vicikitsā naiva kartavyā tasyedam sidhyate dhṛuam ||

Quoted in the *Tattva-siddhi*, MS. p. 185.

It has been said in the *Upāli-paripṛcchā-sūtra* that the passions of the Bodhisattva proceed out of deep compassion for the beings. Because of the aim and also the knowledge which accompany them they never affect the mind of the Bodhisattva. It is, therefore, said that with the Bodhicitta the Yogin himself becomes a god, such a Yogin need not inflict torture on himself through hard penance; let him be the perfectly enlightened one through the enjoyment of bliss. Neither purity, nor rules and regulations, neither penance, nor hard works are required for success; it is to be attained through an easy process of pleasure and bliss (Quoted in the *Tattva-siddhi*, MS. pp. 188-189).

health and happiness in the case of a scientist, that which drags the uninitiated fool to the hell of debauchery may help the initiated Yogin to attain perfect enlightenment. It has been said in the *Citta-viśuddhi-prakaraṇa* of Āryadeva, "Childish people are pleased with colour and beauty—the mediocre resort to renunciation, the highly enlightened ones, who know the ultimate nature of all form and beauty are liberated."¹ What is real with childish fools is unreal with the Yogins,—through this principle the wise realise the end, they are neither bound down nor liberated (*i.e.*, they realise the state which transcends both bondage and liberation). Only the ignorant think of existence and extinction,—the seers of truth think neither of the world nor of Nirvāṇa. In this ocean of the world our thought-constructions are the only disturbing elements; those great saints who have been able to transcend these constructive imaginations are liberated from the bondage of the world.² Ordinary people are as much obstructed by the poison of doubt as the really poisoned people are; the compassionate must eradicate all such doubts and move freely. As a transparent gem is coloured by the colour of other objects, so also is the gem of *citta* coloured by the constructive imaginations,³ but by nature this gem of *citta* is free from the colour of imaginations—it is pure from the beginning—uncreate—essenceless and stainless.⁴ Whatever should not be done by foolish people should very carefully be done by the Yogin whose mind is pure. When women are charmed and enjoyed by a Yogin, whose mind is bent on the good, they conduce to the fulfilment of desires and also to liberation at the same time.⁵ By a methodical mediation on the supreme qualities of the gods a Yogin revels through his passionate mind and is again liberated through the fulfilment of the passions. As a man affected with poison again gets rid of it through poison, as the water

¹ *bālā rajyanti rūpeṣu vairāgyam yānti madhyamāḥ |*
śrabhāva jñā vimucyante rūpaśyo'ttama-buddhayaḥ ||

² *Ibid.*, Verses 23-25.

³ *Ibid.*, Verses 26-27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Verse No. 28.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Verses 29-30.

in the ear is removed with the help of water poured in the ear, as a thorn is removed with the help of another thorn, in exactly the same manner the great sages get themselves relieved of all the passions with the help of the passions. As the washerman washes and cleanses clothes with the help of some dirty substance, so should the wise remove the filth of his mind through filth (of enjoyable objects).¹ As a glass becomes pure and transparent when rubbed with rubbish, in exactly the same manner when something bad is done and enjoyed by the learned, it becomes the destroyer of all wrong. When a lump of iron is thrown into water it certainly sinks down, but when it is shaped as a vessel it not only floats on water, but takes others also to the other shore; exactly in the same manner, if through the principles of Prajñā and Upāya the mind can be shaped into a vessel, one is not only liberated through the enjoyment of objects but relieves others also.² It is well known to all that milk destroys poison(?); but the very milk taken by the snake is transformed into strong poison. As the swan drinks milk out of a mixture of milk and water, so also the learned enjoy the poisonous objects of desire, but avoids bondage and attains liberation.³ Then the author tries to show that no object of the world and no action whatsoever has got any absolute nature with a beneficial or a pernicious influence. The nature of the *dharma*s, depend mainly on the collocation of cause and conditions. A slight elemental change, or a slight change of condition may change the nature of an object altogether. From this the author draws the conclusion that human passions and the actions prompted by them have got no absolute nature of their own, and as such by themselves they are neither beneficial nor pernicious, neither virtuous nor vicious. As, for instance, poison, when taken

¹ *vigā krānto yathā kaścid viṣṇaiva tu nirviṣaḥ ||*
kaṇṭāj jalam jalenaiva kaṇṭakenaiva kaṇṭakam |
rāgaiva tathā rāgam uddharanti manīṣiṇaḥ ||
yathaiva rajako vastraṁ malenaiva tu nirmalam |
kuryād vijñas tathā'tmānam malenaiva tu nirmalam ||

Ibid., Verses 36-38.

Ibid., Verses 39-41.

²*Ibid.*, Verses 43-44.

in a scientific manner acts ilke nectar, and even food like buttered cakes, etc., when taken in an unscientific manner by the fool, acts like poison; so also is the case with this *citta*, which, when purified by pure cause and conditions shines bereft of all thought-constructions, bereft of any attachment and is pure by nature.¹ As the dim ray of a lamp, when supplied with fresh oil and wick, becomes unflickering light and removes all darkness, as the small seed of the banian tree with proper nourishment grows in exuberance with roots, branches, leaves and fruits and becomes a great tree, as the yellow colour in combination with lime undergoes a great change, so also is the element of the *dharma*s which admits of great change in association with *Prajñā* and *Upāya*.² Clarified butter (*ghṛta*), when taken with honey, has the chemical effect of poison; but when it is duly taken, it has got a chemical action conducive to health. As copper, rubbed with some chemical substance, becomes pure gold, so the afflictions (*kleśa*), when purified with knowledge, becomes beneficial to men. The followers of the *Hīnayāna* have their fear of death at every step, but the followers of the *Mahāyāna*, accepting the religion of compassion and with their mind bent on relieving the whole world and having the bow of *Prajñā* in their hands, have no fear of anything whatsoever.³ As the lotus grows in mud, but is never affected by the defects of mud, so the *Yogin* is never affected by the vices of imaginative construction and of the desires.⁴

The *Tattva-siddhi* of *Śānta-rakṣita* breathes the same spirit as the *Citta-viśuddhi-prakaraṇa*. There also we find

¹ *Ibid.*, Verses 45-46.

² *yathā vahniḥ kṛśo'py eṣa taila-vartyā-dī-saṃskṛtaḥ |*
dīpo nirmala-niṣkampaḥ sthira-timira-nāśanaḥ ||
vata-bījaṃ yathā sūkṣmaṃ sahakāra-samanevitaṃ |
śākhā-mūla-phalopetaṃ mahāvṛkṣa-vidhāyakam ||
haridrā-cūrṇa-saṃyogād varṇā-ntaram iti smṛtam |
prajño-pāya-saṃyogād dharma-dhātus tathā viduḥ ||

Ibid., Verses 47-49.

³ *Ibid.*, Verses 50-53.

⁴ *pañka-jātaṃ yathā padmaṃ pañka-doṣair na līpyate |*
eikalpa-vāsanā-doṣais tathā yogī na līpyate ||

Ibid., Verse 115.

that the beauty and objects of the world, when duly enjoyed with the knowledge of Prajñā and Upāya, must produce some special religious effect (*viśiṣṭa-phala-vāhakā bhavanti*). It is a commonly accepted truth that some special substance has got the capacity of producing some special effect; as, for instance, the fruit of the Emblic Myrobalan (*āmalaka*), which grows on earth, has got by nature an astringent taste; but that very *āmalaka* fruit, when it obtains the additional condition of being run through a process with milk, tastes very sweet. So it is found experimentally that the same thing may have different effects when affected or reformed through other different cause and conditions. If that be true, there cannot be any doubt about the fact that the objects of the world, when properly enjoyed with the yogic practices, can produce some special religious effect. In this connection it is reminded that there is no such law that a particular thing will produce the same particular effect under all the varying circumstances; on the other hand, it is seen that one root-cause may produce entirely different effects under different collocation of conditions. The mysterious capacity of the combination of the cause and conditions is unknown and unthinkable even to the wise.¹ That being the case, it is to be admitted that sex-passions, which generally drag a man down to the level of the beasts, may also raise him to the level of the gods, if, however, these passions are reformed and purified with the knowledge of Prajñā and Upāya. The authority of the *Ratna-kūṭa-sūtra* is quoted here, where it has been said that as in the cane-fields or in the paddy-fields fertilisation of the soil becomes of much help for the growth of corn, so also the reformed afflictions become beneficial to the Bodhisattva.²

As the forms (*rūpa*) and objects (*dravya*) have no absolute nature of their own, and as their nature depends on

¹ *acint(y)ateāddhetu-pratyaya-sāmarthyasya sarecāidām |*

MS. p. 184.

² *tad yathā keṣu ikṣu-kṣetreṣu śālī-kṣetreṣu saṃskāra-kūṭa upakāri bhūto bhavati/evam eva bodhisattvasya kleśa upakāri-bhūto bhavati.*

Quoted in the *Tattva-siddhi*, MS. pp. 187-188.

the variation of conditions, and as associated with Prajñā and Upāya they, instead of fettering the mind of a man in the world of misery, can conduce to supreme bliss and final liberation, so also is the case with the bliss resulting from any kind of tactual sensation (*sparśa-nirjāta-sukha*). As in association with ignorance this bliss may be the cause of bondage and of illusion, in association with Prajñā and Upāya it may again lead one to a transcendental state. The whole thing depends on the motive or the mental attitude or the resolution (*saṅkalpa*). If the mental resolution (*manoratha-saṅkalpa*) be pure, everything will be beneficial not only to the self, but also to the whole world.

Again it is said, this tactual pleasure may, through practice and a strict mental discipline, lead our mind to a transcendental absolute position, where the tranquillity of mind becomes a natural outcome of the tactual pleasure. As fine arts, through sights and sounds, can gradually lead our disciplined mind to a tranquil, supreme and permanent nature (*samāhita-parama-śāśvata-svabhāva*), so also is the case with this tactual bliss. Our deep emotions of passion, grief, fear, etc., and the bliss arising out of touch, etc., may also have a supreme transcendental effect on our mind. The intensity of an emotion can destroy all the waves of mentation and create an undisturbed oneness (*samarasa*) in the mind. It has been said that through those very emotions, through which the mind of a man becomes concentrated, the mind of a man becomes absorbed in the thatness just like the *Viśva-rūpa* jewel.¹ The whole thing hinges, as we have seen, on the condition of the subject. As when the *Ketaki* flower is eaten by an elephant, its scent transforms itself into musk, and when eaten by any one other than the elephant, it has different transformations, and as the *Ketaki* flower itself is not responsible for any of these

¹ *yena yena hi bhāvena manaḥ saṃyujyate nṛṇām |*
tena tanmayatām yāti viśva-rūpo manir yathā ||

Quoted in the Commentary, *Marma-kalikā-tantra*, MS, p. 5(A); quoted
in the *Tattva-siddhi*, MS, p. 197.

It is also found in the *Heruka-tantra* with slight variations in reading.
MS. (R.A.S.B., No. 11279) p. 74(B).

transformations, so also is the case with our passions; they produce entirely different effects under different circumstances mainly depending on the subjective conditions. Again as milk drunk by the snake results in poison and has the effect of nectar when drunk by others, so also is the case with the human passions.¹

As a matter of fact, what really is the *vrata* (vow) of a Yogin of the Vajra-yāna? It is to view all the *dharma*s as well as the self from the perspective of perfect vacuity. If that be the fact, when a perfect Yogin sees some objects with his eyes, the objects are void, and so are his eyes; how, then, can the void be affected by the void? The vow of a Yogin is to do everything with a compassionate mind and with the knowledge of the void; and if these conditions are fulfilled, the Yogin can do whatever he likes without the least possible fear of his being fettered again in this world; what is done with a compassionate, fearless mind, free from thought-constructions, is the best of all the vows.² Again what is *tapas* (penance)? It is said, 'To perform all works with a fearless mind—to observe all the practices with a fearless mind,—this is the best kind of *tapas* (penances).'³

The arguments discussed above represent the general trend of thought found in the Buddhist Tantras in justification of the practices they adopt in their yogic *Sādhana*. The same arguments are to be found in many of the Tantras and Dohās, explained with the help of various kinds of analogies. Thus it is said in the *Jvālāvali-vajra-mālā-tantra*,—"As mad elephants are subdued with the help of molasses and rice, so also should the highest knowledge be attained through a similar process. As some medicine is sweet to taste and at the same time cures disease, so also is the bliss coming out of the combination of the Prajñā and the Upāya,

¹ *Tattva-siddhi*, MS. pp. 205-206.

² *punaś co'ktam/yoginām kidyāṁ vratam ?*
sopāyaṁ sarva-karmāṇi nirviśaṅkaś caret sadā |
nirvikalpena bhāvena vratānām uttamo-ttamaḥ ||

Tattva-siddhi, MS. p. 192

³ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

—it destroys the afflictions easily and smoothly. . . . Again, what to one is a rope for hanging oneself, is the remover of bondage to the other. O, the wonderful power of the followers of the excellent vehicle of Mahāyāna! Kāma here practises religion by deeply embracing women.”¹ The commentary on the *Dohākoṣa* of Kāṇhu-pāda raises a question in this connection; *Mahā-sukha* is non-causal (*nirnimitta*), whereas the bliss arising out of the combination of the *Prajñā* and *Upāya* is causal; how then can the latter become the *Mahā-sukha*? The reply is that through the instructions of a good preceptor the causal bliss itself may become non-causal.² The authority of *Saraha-pāda* is also quoted here. He says, “This causal bliss becomes non-causal to the great, and it becomes of the nature of *Mahā-sukha* which is free from thought-constructions and is of the nature of self-produced knowledge.”³ Again it may be questioned,—if at the time of the *Sāadhanā* everything of the world is to be thought of as void in essence and illusory or magical in appearance, then even the Mantras, Mudrās and all the other accessories of Yoga become illusory and magical; how can then the Yoga have the capacity of destroying the afflictions of the mind? In reply it has been said, “A snake-charmer creates a magical pillar and then destroys it,—but though the pillar is destroyed for ever, men are relieved thereby from

¹ *yathaiva matta-mātaṅgā guḍa-taṇḍulakādinā |*
pravaṅkriyate vijñān vijñānaṁ ca mahādaye || (?)
yathā mahauṣadham kiñcit sukhā-svādaṁ vyādhi-ghātakaṁ |
prajñopāya-sukhaṁ tadecā helayā kleśa-nāśanam ||

ekasya gala-pāśaḥ syād aparasya candha-kartikā ||
aho upāya-sāmarthyam mahā-yāna-suyāyinām |
kāminīm gādham āliṅgya bhajanti (?) makaradhvajah ||

MS. (B.N. No. Sanskrit 47) p. 22(B).

In the Com. on the *Marma-kalikā-tantra*, these verses are quoted as belonging to the *Grhya-raja-virāsini-sādhana*, vide MS. p. 16(A).

² *mahā-sukhaṁ ca nirnimittam, tat katham tathā bhavitum arhati/sannimitta-sukham eva sad-gurū-padeśān nirnimittam bhavati/*

MS. (Cambridge University library Add. 1699) p. 44(A).

³ *yad idaṁ sannimitta-sukhaṁ tad eva mahatam nimitta-parihīnam.*
jñāna-svayambhū-rūpaṁ mahā-sukhaṁ kalpanā-sūnyam ||

Vyakta-bhāvā-nugata-tatteva-siddhi, MS. p. 171.

poison, etc. So also is the case with all the yogic practices." ¹

In the *Hevajra-tantra* we find some verses in explanation of the Buddhist Tāntric practices, and as the *Hevajra-tantra* is quoted as authority in many connections in most other Tantras and commentaries, these verses of the *Hevajra-tantra* are made much use of in many of the texts and commentaries. It has been put into the mouth of the Lord himself that men may attain liberation through existence itself; they are destroyed by the fetters of worldly things, but are liberated through a critical examination of their nature.² Again it is said, "The very bliss, which causes death (in one case), is itself called the meditation."³ It is further said, "Remove all your fetters of bondage through those very things through which people are ruined. People are deluded,—and they never know the truth,—and without truth they can never attain success."⁴ The other arguments found in the text are substantially the same as discussed above.⁵

¹ *yathā gāruḍīkaḥ stambhaṁ sādhaḥyiteā vināśyati |*
sa tasmin cira-naṣṭe'pi viśādin upasāmyati ||

Ascribed to Sānti-pāda, quoted in the *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha*, p. 67.

² *bhāvenaita vimucyante vajra-garbha mahā-kṛpa |*
badhyante bhāva-bandhena mucyante tat parīkṣayā ||

MS. p. 2(B).

³ *maraṇaṁ yena saukhyena [sukhencha] tat-sukhaṁ dhyānam ucyate |*

Ibid., MS. p. 14(A).

⁴ *yena yena tu badhyate lokas tena tena tu bandhanaṁ mucyate |*
loko muhyati na vetti tattvaṁ tattva-viceṛjitaḥ siddhir na lapsye ||

Ibid., MS. p. 26(A).

⁵ "A man versed in the science of poison counteracts the effect of poison with the same quantity of poison, which causes death to all the creatures. Meat-diet is prescribed for a patient attacked with gout,—and thus gout is cured by the application of another form of it; indeed the prescription of medicine often seems to be contradictory to our ordinary experiences. The world is purified by the world itself,—false imaginations by greater imaginative constructions. As the water in the ear is removed by the application of water in the ear, so also the imaginative constructions of existence are to be purified in their turn by the corporeal forms. The fire-burnt are again pacified through fire, so those who are burnt by the fire of passions are again pacified by the fire, of passions. Through the same direful activities, through which all creatures are ruined, they are again liberated from the fetters of the world, on condition that the activities are all prompted by a spirit of universal compassion. People die through passions and are again liberated through

In the Dohās of Tillo-pāda, Saraha-pāda and Kāṇhu-pāda we meet with almost similar verses. Thus it is said,—as one engaged in the science of poison swallows poison and yet is not affected thereby, so does one enjoy the world without being attached to it.¹ As one touches the foam of some drink and yet his hands are not besmeared with the drink, so also the Yogin, though revelling in the objects of pleasure, is not affected thereby.² As the lotus-leaf is never affected

the passions,—this is an apparently contradictory idea,—unknown to the ordinary orthodox Buddhists."

yenaiva viṣa-khaṇḍena mriyante sarea jantavaḥ |
tenaiva viṣa-tatteajño viṣeṇa sphoṭayed viṣam ||
yathā vāta-grhītasya māsa-bhakṣyaṁ pradīyate |
vātena hanyate vātaṁ viparīt auṣadhi-kalpanā ||
bhava-suddho bhavenaiva vikalpaṁ pravikalpataḥ ||
karṇe toyaṁ yathāviṣṭaṁ prati toyeṇa kṣyate |
tathā bhāva-vikalpo'pi ākāraḥ śodhyate khalu ||
yathā pāvaka-dagdhāś ca sidhyante vahninā punaḥ |
tathā rāgāgni-dagdhāś ca sidhyante rāga-vahninā ||
yena yena tu badhyante jantavo raudra-karmaṇā |
sopāyena tu tenaiva mucyante bhava-vandhanāt ||
rāgeṇa badhyate loko rāgeṇaiva vimucyate |
viparīta-bhāvanā hyeṣā na jñātā buddha-tīrthikair ||

MS. pp. 37(A)—37(B).

See Samputikā, MS. p. 47(B).

Cf. also,—yena cittena bālāś ca saṁsāre bandhanaṁ gatāḥ |
yoginas tena cittena sugatānāṁ gatirgatāḥ ||

Pañca-krama, MS. p. 26(B).

yenāiva mūḍhā badhyante buddhā krīḍanti tair iha |

Vajra-dāka-tantra, MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 3825).

yena yenaivopāyena mattā gacchanty adho-gatim |

tena tenaivopāyena yogī śighraṁ prasidhyati ||

Ekallo-vīra-caṇḍa-roṣaṇa-mahā-tantra, MS. p. 22(A).

rāgeṇa hanyate rāgo vahnī-dāhaś ca vahninā |

viṣato'pi viṣaṁ hanyāt upadeśa-prayogataḥ ||

• • • • •

sarea-pāpaṁ kṣayaṁ kṛtvā viparītenaiva sidhyati |

Ibid., MS. p. 22(B).

¹ jima viṣa bhakṣhai viṣahi paluttā |

[tima bhava bhuñjai bhavahi na juttā]

Dohās of Tillo pāda.

² viṣaa ramanta na viṣaa vilippai |

ūara harai na pāṇi cchippai ||

Dohās of Saraha-pāda

by the waves of water, though it is constantly in water, so also is the mind of a Yogin, which, though always surrounded by objects of pleasure, is never affected by them in any way.¹ A Yogin, thus versed in the fundamental truth, is never disturbed by the objects of pleasure though he may indulge in them.²

It should be remembered that wherever the *citta* clings to the objects of desire the ultimate nature of the self is not to be found; the ultimate nature of the self can be realised through the enjoyment of the worldly objects only when the ultimate nature of the world is realised as the vacuity through the instructions of the preceptor, and in such a state there remains no difference between the world and the vacuity as there is no difference between the water of a river and its waves.³ Profound and secret are the ways of this cult,—who can say anything, and who can hear? Who is really engaged in this cult? This path is just like an underground passage of a fort. As it is very advantageous to enter into

¹ *punar yathā padma-patre jalā-taraṅgaṁ gṛhītvā tat pāṇtyair na līpyate/ tadotpannā ca padma-patrāmbho-vad itī vacanāt/evam abhyāso yogīnā ca/*

Comm. on the previous *Dohā*.

² *emai jo mūla saranto |
visahi na vāhai visaa ramanto ||*

Dohās of Saraha-pāda.

It has been further said that the Yogin, who, even after he has been able to purify the objects of desire (through his transcendental knowledge), does not enjoy objects of pleasure, merely floats in the void; and for him there is every possibility of returning to the world of pleasure. His position is just like a crow in the ocean, which leaves the mast and hovers round and round and again returns to the same mast it left.

*visaa-visuddhe ṇāu ramai kevala suṇṇa carei |
uḍḍi vohia kāu jima paluḍḍia tahavi paḍei ||*

Ibid.

Again,—“Don’t repress the desire for the objects of pleasure, says Saraha; if one does so, he will be destroyed by these objects of desire again, as is the case with fish, insects, the elephant, black-bees and the deer.” (Fish, insects, the elephant, black-bees and the deer are attracted and killed by their particular attachment to flavour, beauty, tactual pleasure, smell and sound respectively.)

*visaḍḍatti ma bandha karu are vaḍḍa sarahe vutta |
mīṇa paṇḍama kari bhamara pekkhaha harīṇaha jutta || Ibid.*

³ *jatta vi cittahi vipphurāi tatta vi ṇāha sarūa |
aṇṇa taraṅga ki aṇṇa jalā bhava-sama khaṣama sarūa || Ibid.*

a fort and to capture it and destroy it through this underground passage, so also is this path,—very advantageous to capture the fort of the illusory world and to destroy it through the destruction of all the imaginary constructions of the mind; but as there is the wicked dust in the passage which kills the inexperienced, but cannot do any harm to the experienced, so also there is in this path a great risk, which kills the uninitiate but can be overcome only by the initiate.¹ When water enters into water, there is produced the *Samarasa*; similarly when mind enters into the pure consciousness of vacuity, it reaches the final state, where the virtues and vices of the world go neither for nor against the Yogin.²

¹ *kāsu kahijjai ko sunai etthu kajjasu līṇa |*
duṭṭha suraṅga-dhūli jīma hīa-jāa hīahi līṇa || Dohās of Saraha,
² *jatta ei paisai jalahi jalu tattai samarasa hoi |*
dosa-guṇāra citta taḥa caḍha parivakkha ṇa koi || Ibid.

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